



ALGIERS :

BEING A COMPLETE

PICTURE of the BARBARY STATES ;

THEIR GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGION,
AND NATURAL PRODUCTIONS ;

And containing

A Sketch of their various Revolutions,

A Description of the Domestic Manners and Customs of the

MOORS, ARABS, AND TURKS ;

An Account of the four great Capitals of

ALGIERS, TRIPOLI, TUNIS, AND MOROCCO,
and

*A Narrative of the various Attacks upon Algiers, by the
European States ;*

Including a faithful Detail of the late

GLORIOUS VICTORY OF LORD EXMOUTH.

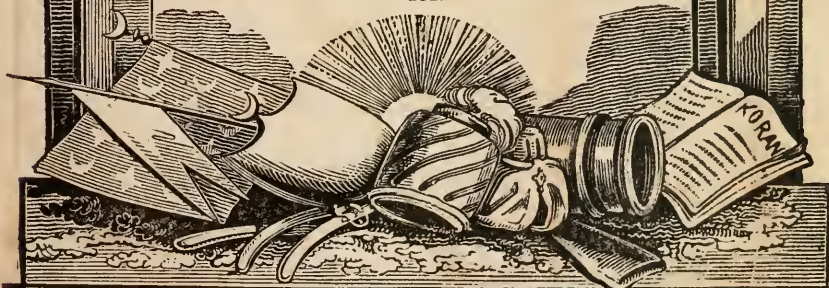
By **G. A. JACKSON, Esq.**

" A Corsair's name--linked with a thousand crimes."--Byron.

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Advertisement.

THE signal chastisement that has been inflicted on the Algerine Pirates, by the irresistible thunder of the BRITISH NAVY, must be truly grateful to the feelings of Englishmen. Especially, when we recollect that CHARLES V. in the plenitude of his power, failed in an expedition against the city of Algiers;—that LOUIS XIV. was employed, for several years, in punishing the insolence, and reducing the power of these unprincipled Corsairs;—and that no other state ever extorted from them a *Covenant for the perpetual abolition of CHRISTIAN SLAVERY*. This is the peculiar trophy of ENGLAND, and will be long remembered to her honour.

Of the *Barbary States*, which have insulted the flag of every nation, that could not either purchase or command their forbearance,—many curious and interesting descriptions are to be found in the volumes of various enlightened Travellers, both ancient and modern. From these, and other authentic sources, we shall be enabled to lay before our readers a comprehensive Survey of the *Government, Laws, and Religion* of BARBARY—the natural productions of this highly-favoured region—the domestic manners and customs of its inhabitants, the MOORS, ARABS, and TURKS—their mode of warfare—manner of treating their Christian Slaves (with instances of horrid cruelties, &c.)—and a faithful description of the four great capitals of ALGIERS, TRIPOLI, TUNIS, and MOROCCO.

The various *Revolutions* of the Barbary States,— well as an account of the different attacks made upon them by the European Powers—from the first rise of their piratical Navy, to their last humiliating defeat by British Arms, will be given at length;—including several ancient and modern *Treaties* between this Country and Algiers, and some highly interesting circumstances and anecdotes relative to the *glorious Victory* of LORD EXMOUTH, not hitherto collected together.

In the present work also, will be found many affecting Narratives of Christians, who were captured and made slaves by the Algerine Pirates;—but one, in particular, of a BRITISH SEAMAN, *who was detained FIFTEEN YEARS a PRISONER* at Algiers—containing a singularly faithful and interesting sketch of the manners and habits of the Algerines,—the way in which he was treated by them—and the numerous cruelties which he suffered during his long captivity—his return to England, and reception there. This account is *written by himself*, and its authenticity is undoubted.

The whole will comprise *a complete History of the Pirates of the African Continent*, a subject at all times replete with information, and peculiarly interesting at the present moment.

It will be embellished with numerous coloured Engravings illustrative of the *costume* and manners of the Moors, Arabs, and Turks, with an accurate Map, &c. &c.

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ALGIERS :

OR, A COMPLETE

Picture of the Barbary States.

CHAP. I.

Geographical Description of Barbary—Kingdoms of Algiers—Tripoli—Tunis—Morocco and Fez—with a full Account of each Capital.

BARBARY, in a general view, comprehends the countries of Morocco and Fez, which form a distinct and separate empire, and the states of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca, all of which seem to constitute one great political confederacy, though independent of each other in their internal policy and government. Barbary, which was known to the ancients under the denomination of Mauritania, Numidia, Africa Proper, and Lybia, is said to have received its present appellation from the word *Bar*, which signifies a desert; and hence, those who were its first inhabitants, assumed to themselves the name of *Barbares*, or *Berberes*, which they still retain. This vast tract of territory commences on the west at Mount Atlas, and extends as far as Alexandria in Egypt, which is its eastern boundary; being

nearly two thousand miles from east to west, and, at its greatest breadth, seven hundred and fifty from north to south. The coasts are well watered by several copious streams, and the soil is extremely fertile in corn and pastures. The advantageous situation of Barbary induced the Carthaginians, Romans, Greeks, Saracens, Vandals, Arabs, and Turks, to make themselves successively masters of it, the last of whom are still in possession of this country, except a few settlements erected on the coast by some European nations.

The climate is temperate, and equally removed from the extremes of heat and cold ; for though snow falls plentifully in winter, it seldom continues long on the ground, except upon Mount Atlas, where it is constantly seen during the whole year. The winter season commences about the middle of October, towards the end of which the rains set in, that generally continue till the beginning of February ; but the cold is not very severe. During the spring, which commences about the end of February, the weather is for the most part serene and pleasant, except in the month of May, when gentle refreshing showers, assisted by the temperate heat of the sun, bring the fruits of the earth to a gradual but early maturity ; figs and cherries becoming ripe in May, and grapes by the end of September. The summer is from the beginning of June to the end of August, during which period the heats are excessive and inimical to health ; and the atmosphere becomes so hot, as to occasion malignant and pestilential diseases, which, as the Mahometans think it impious to attempt their cure, frequently carry off great numbers of people. A sensible diminution of heat

begins to be felt about the beginning of September, when the autumn commences, which is a pleasant and delightful season.

This tract of territory is inhabited by three different classes of people ; the original Moors, the Arabs, and the descendants of the Turks, (who possessed themselves of some of the finest provinces, and rendered Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, tributary,) besides a variety of nations, and renegadoes of every christian persuasion, that have bartered their faith for their freedom.

Provisions of all kinds are extremely cheap. All the European fruits, and many indigenous ones, are found here, except the hazel-nut, the filbert, the gooseberry, and the currant. In horticulture, however, they make no particular figure. Their gardens are laid out without taste, and present a'medley of productions without method or design.

Lead and iron are the only native metals discovered here. The latter is white and good, though not very abundant. It is found in the mountainous district of Bonjeiah, and brought to Algiers in small bars.

In this place it may not be amiss to relate the popular story, in this country, of the plough-shares of Mahomet, Bey of Tunis. This prince had the misfortune to be dethroned by his subjects ; but having the reputation of being acquainted with the philosopher's stone, Ibrahim Hojiah, Dey of Algiers, engaged to reinstate him in his dignity, on condition of his being let into the secret. The bargain was quickly concluded, and Mahomet was restored ; when, to fulfil his promise, he sent the Dey of Algiers, with great pomp and ceremony, a number of mattocks

and plough-shares. They emblematically instructed him that the real wealth of nations must arise from a diligent attendance on agriculture and rural labour; and that the only philosopher's stone he knew was the art of converting a plentiful crop into gold.

Camels and dromedaries, asses, mules, and an animal called the Kumrah, generated between an ass and a cow, are the usual beasts of burden in this country. Horses have much degenerated of late years; and, perhaps, they are less adapted for the climate than the animals we have enumerated.

The black cattle are small, slender, and afford but little milk. The late Dey of Algiers and his courtiers were astonished, when Admiral Cavendish, some years ago then on the coast, told him that he had a Hampshire cow on board his ship, that gave a gallon of milk daily, which is as much as half a dozen of the best Barbary cows will yield in that period.

The goats and sheep, however, assist to supply the dairies; the cheese being chiefly made of their milk. Instead of rennet, they use, in summer, the flowers of the great-headed thistle, or wild artichoke, to turn the milk. Their cheeses are usually of the shape and size of a penny loaf. Their butter is neither of such a consistence nor so well flavoured as ours. It is made by putting the cream into a goat's skin, which, being suspended from one side of the tent to the other, and tossed to and fro in one uniform direction, soon occasions the separation of the butter from the milk.

The sheep here are of two varieties, one of them, common all over the Levant, as well as in Barbary, is distinguished by having a large broad tail, consisting of hard solid fat, not inferior to marrow. Those

of the other variety are nearly as tall as our fallow deer, and, excepting the conformation of the head, are not very different in shape. A gelding among the horses, an ox among the horned cattle, or a wether among the sheep, is rarely known in this country. The Mahometans think it an act of great cruelty to castrate any but their own species ; however, they have a method of destroying the generative power of the males of animals, not wanted for the preservation of the species, which is performed by squeezing their testicles.

Several of the Arabian tribes, that can only bring three or four hundred horse into the field, have more than as many thousand camels, and triple again that number of black cattle and sheep. They seldom kill any of their flocks, but rather sell them ; subsisting chiefly on their milk and butter, or on such commodities as they purchase with the produce of their superfluous stock. Hence the number of cattle is continually increasing, notwithstanding the consumption of them in the towns.

Of cattle, not naturally tame, is a species of wild cow, nearly of the size and colour of red deer. The young calves of this breed, however, will quickly grow tame, and herd with other cattle. The *lerwee* is a species of goat, so excessively timorous, that, when pursued, it will precipitate itself down rocks and precipices. It is of the size of a heifer, but the body is more rounded, and it has a tuft of shaggy hair on the knees and neck. The horns, which are above a foot long, are twisted and turned back. There are also several species of the antelope and deer kind.

Among the ravenous beasts, the lion and panther

hold the first rank ; for the tiger is not a native of this part of Barbary. Several ridiculous stories are told of the lion ; particularly that, on calling him some opprobrious names, he will immediately fly ; and that women may safely be familiar with him. These tales do not merit the least regard. When the lion is hungry, scarcely the multiplied precautions of fires, dogs, and guards, can save the flocks from his ravages. Outbraving all terrors, he will sometimes leap into the midst of the circle inclosed by the tents, and carry off a sheep or a goat. However, when the Arabs catch him, they make a hearty meal on his flesh, which is esteemed as good as veal.

The dubbah is likewise a very fierce animal. It is of the size of a wolf, but has a flatter body. Its neck is so stiff, that on looking behind, or snatching obliquely at any object, it is obliged to turn its whole body. Its colour is a reddish buff or dun, with some transverse streaks of brown. The mane is nearly a span long ; and the feet, which are armed with claws, serve to dig up the roots of plants, and sometimes the graves of the dead. The faadh is spotted like a leopard ; but the skin is coarser and of a deeper colour, and the animal is reckoned less fierce. This creature is supposed, by the Arabs, to be generated between a lion and a female leopard. There are also two other animals marked like the leopard ; but their spots are darker, and their fur somewhat longer and softer.

The jackal, and an animal called the black-eared cat, are both supposed to find out prey for the lion, and are therefore called the lion's providers ; though it is much to be doubted, whether there be any

friendly correspondence between them. In the night, indeed, these and other animals are prowling in search of prey, and in the morning they have frequently been seen gnawing such carcasses as the lion is supposed to have fed on before. This, and the promiscuous noise which the jackal is often heard to make with the lion, are the only circumstances which tend to favour the idea of their sociability. The lion is believed to prefer the flesh of the wild boar ; but that creature sometimes defends itself with such resolution, that the dead carcasses of both have been found lying together.

Barbary contains likewise bears, apes, hares, rabbits, ferrets, weasels, porcupines, foxes, cameleons, and several species of lizards. Of the serpent kind, the most remarkable is the thaibanne, some of which are said to be three or four yards long ; and purses have been made of their skins, which were four inches at least in diameter. The zurreike, which, as well as the former, is a native of the desert, is about fifteen inches long, very slender, and capable of darting along with great swiftness. The most malignant, however, of this tribe is the leffah, which answers the description of the burning dipsas of the ancients, and is seldom above a foot long.

Among the feathered tribes are eagles, hawks, the crow of the desert, and the shagarag. The latter is of the size and shape of the jay ; the body is brownish ; the head, neck, and belly, are of a light green ; and the wings and tail are barred with deep blue. The houbaara is as large as a capon ; of a light dun colour, marked all over with little streaks of brown. The wings are black, with a white spot in the middle ; and the feathers of the neck are remarkably

long, and capable of being erected, when the bird is irritated or attacked.

The rhaad is of two species. The smaller is of the size of an ordinary pullet; but the larger differs not only in magnitude, but also in having a black head, with a tuft of dark blue feathers immediately below it. The belly of both is white; the back and wings of a buff colour, spotted with brown; but the tail is lighter, and marked with black transverse streaks.

The kitawiah frequents the most sterile spots, as the rhaad does the best cultivated. It resembles a dove in shape and size, and has short feathered feet. The body is of a livid hue, spotted with black; and on the throat is the figure of a crescent, of a beautiful yellow. The tip of each tail-feather is spotted with white, and the middle one is long and pointed. The flesh, both of this bird and the rhaad, is agreeably flavoured, and easy of digestion.

Partridges, quails, woodcocks, and several other kinds of wild fowl, fit for the table, are plentiful enough. Among the most singular tenants of the groves is the green thrush, which, in vivid beauty of plumage, is not inferior to any. His head, neck, and back, are of a light green; the breast white and spotted; the wings of a lark colour. This bird is migratory, and only seen here in the summer months. The capsasparrow is of a lark colour; but the breast is somewhat lighter, and shines with a varying lustre. This bird, which is about the size of the common house-sparrow, is remarkable for the sweetness of its note, which infinitely exceeds that of the canary bird or the nightingale; but it is of such a delicate nature, that it cannot long exist in a different climate.



Dey of Algiers.



The insects are too numerous to particularize. One of the most beautiful is a butterfly, the expansion of whose wings is nearly four inches, and is all over elegantly streaked with murrey and yellow, except the edges of the lower wings, which being indented and ending in a narrow strip, or lappet, of an inch long, are finely fringed with yellow, and near the tail is a carnation-coloured spot.

KINGDOM OF ALGIERS.

ALGIERS was, soon after its conquest by the Arabs, divided into four principal provinces ; and is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean ; on the east by the river Zaine, which separates it from Tunis ; on the South by the desert of Zaara ; and on the west by the mountains of Trara, which part it from Morocco. Its extreme length is computed at four hundred and sixty, and its average breadth at about eighty miles. Algiers enjoys one of the happiest climates ; and the ground is covered with a perpetual verdure.

The inhabitants who live on the sea-coast, are a strange mixture of various nations ; but are chiefly the descendants of the Moors that were expelled out of Spain. Turks, Arabs, and Jews are likewise pretty numerous, as well as European slaves ; and there are also some few Christians, who remain free, and trade without molestation.

The bulk of the inhabitants are Moors, who are divided into two classes ; those who apply themselves to trade and agriculture, and those who adopt

a wandering life, without either lands or patrimony. The first is by far the most respectable, and they sometimes amass great riches. The latter are subdivided into a vast number of tribes, distinguished by their chiefs or by the place of their residence. Each tribe forms a kind of itinerant village, or, as they term it, an adowar; every one of them pays the dey a certain tax proportioned to the number of its families, and for which the chief, who represents the whole community, is responsible.

Though Algiers retains the title of kingdom, its government is entirely republican, being in the hands of the militia. Formerly, the grand seignior sent thither pachas, who possessed all the authority of viceroys; but some of them impoverishing the people by exorbitant taxes, and refusing to pay the janissaries employed to keep the country in a state of dependence on Constantinople, they were put to death, and the office was abolished.

The civil government of Algiers is now conducted by the dey, and a council composed of thirty bashaws; at which also, on particular occasions, the great ecclesiastical officers are permitted to vote. The deys are elected out of the militia; and, as the meanest person among them has the same right to the sovereignty as the highest, every common soldier may be considered as a candidate for the throne. This singular privilege, however, which the military in common possess, tends to render the situation of the deys neither safe nor pleasant; each aspiring ruffian being ready to sheath his scymitar in the breast of his sovereign. Every person has a right to vote in the election of a dey; and, as there is ge-

nerally a variety of candidates, tumults are very frequent, and the choice is often decided by the sword. After the dey is elected he is saluted by the words *Alla Barek!* or, God bless you! As soon as the grand seignior is informed of the choice that has been made, he sends the newly appointed dey a patent to act as viceroy; but when it arrives it is sometimes useless, the person for whom it was intended being no longer in existence. The deys seldom die possessed of the dignity; being generally assassinated, or obliged to abdicate the sovereignty, or to fly in order to preserve their lives.

Next in dignity to the dey is the aga, or general of the janissaries. This person is one of the oldest officers in the army, and retains his place only two months, when he is succeeded by the next in seniority. The keys of the metropolis are deposited in the hands of the acting aga, who issues all the military orders. Next to him is the secretary of state, who registers all the public acts; and then the counsellors to the number of thirty, of whom the divan is composed. When they assemble, they all sit; except the inferior members invited thither, who are generally old soldiers, officers, veterans, and the governors of the three great provinces.

The manner in which business is transacted in this council, is extremely curious and singular. The aga as president proposes the subject of deliberation; which is immediately repeated with a loud voice by the chiah-bashaws, and from them re-echoed by four inferior officers: after which every member of the divan repeats it to his next neighbour, using at the same time strange contortions and gesticula-

tions. When the matter is not approved, a hideous noise is heard from the opposition, which shews the aga to which side the majority inclines; and he thereupon proclaims the decision of the question. To prevent opposition, however, to his measures, the dey carefully suppresses all those whom he suspects of disaffection, and in general only convenes his most submissive and abject dependents.

A barbarous piece of policy has been commonly adopted after every fresh election of a dey; the successful candidate ordering every member of the divan who opposed him to be strangled, and filling up the vacancies with the minions of his pleasure.

In all records of state, the Turkish language is used; that of the natives is a mixture of Arabic, Moorish, and their ancient tongue, supposed to be the Phœnician. In their commerce with other nations, however, the *lingua Franca*, a jargon composed of Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French, is in general use, and is employed throughout all the Levant. The Algerines, who possess the strongest naval force of any nation on the Barbary coast, have seldom more than twenty ships of war.

The grand seignior receives no other revenue from the dey, than a stipulated number of handsome youths, and some other annual presents. Many of the punishments inflicted in this country are extremely barbarous; and the slightest, which is the *bastinado*, though not considered as capital, is frequently attended with death. They expiate murder by impalement; or by suspending the criminal by the neck from the battlements of the city; or by extending him on hooks, where the wretched victim

of justice writhes in inexpressible agonies, often for more than a day, before he expires. If a Moor be convicted of robbery, his right hand is cut off; which is suspended from his neck, while he rides round the city on an ass, with his face towards the tail. If any Jew or Christian be convicted of ridiculing Mahomet or his religion, he must immediately adopt his doctrines, or suffer the most exquisite tortures that barbarity can invent. Sawing asunder is still retained among those final punishments inflicted on persons who subject themselves to the resentment of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Scarcely a vestige remains of the various arts and sciences which once flourished in this country. The natives, however, are by no means deficient in mental abilities, and were they not shackled by their government and religion, it is probable that their improvements would equal those of Europeans. The Moors and Turks send their sons at an early period to school; but their masters can only teach them a little writing, which is performed with chalk on a board; and if they can read fluently in the Koran, they are supposed to have attained an uncommon degree of proficiency.

Owing to their predestinarian principles, the study of medicine is much neglected; and nature is suffered to contend with the morbid affections of the patient, the principal remedies being charms and incantations.

Nothing can be so insolent as the militia, or janisseries, who have engrossed to themselves the whole power and management of the kingdom; styling themselves *effendi*, or nobles, though most of them are men of the lowest extraction and the meanest

characters. If one of these Turkish soldiers be met in the streets, care is always taken to make way for him, otherwise he will make way for himself. But though the Turks are so proud and haughty, they are the most avaricious people in the world ; and will not scruple to perform the most abject and servile offices, to obtain money. It is, therefore, a common proverb at Algiers, " If you give a Turk money with one hand, he will suffer you to pluck out his eyes with the other. "

The deys, however, after they have been exalted to their dignity, generally disdain the meanness of wishing to disguise their humble extraction ; on the contrary, one of them, disputing with the deputy-consul of a neighbouring state, is said to have thus frankly acknowledged his origin : " My mother sold sheep's trotters, and my father neat's tongues ; but they would have been ashamed to have exposed to sale so worthless a tongue as thine. "

Notwithstanding the piratical disposition of the Algerines, and the contempt in which they hold the opponents of Mahomet, there are several free Christians and Jews in this kingdom, who follow their respective employments without molestation. A few Spaniards, however, who have taken up their residence in Algiers, are the principal conductors of the European trade. The natives manufacture carpets not much inferior to those of Turkey, velvet, taffeties, and other wrought silks, together with linen cloth, of which Susa produces the finest.

These several articles are chiefly for home consumption ; and few commodities are exported, besides ostrich feathers, wax, hides, wool, copper, and dates.

The Algerines generally make use of foreign coins, though they have several of their own ; among which is the barba, made of copper ; the asper, a small square piece of silver, fifteen of which are equivalent to a spanish rial, and twenty-four to a dapta, being nearly worth a crown ; together with the rupee, the median, and dian, all of gold, which being the royal coins of the kings of Tremesen, are still coined in that province.

This kingdom has undergone a variety of divisions, according to the will of the people who successively conquered and governed it. After the deys, however, became so powerful, they separated it into three governments ; the east, west, and south ; under which division it is generally known. The eastern district is the most considerable, not only on account of its wealth and extent, but also of the number and magnificence of its cities. It contains many ancient towns, in which may still be seen the remains of monuments that attest their former celebrity, without reckoning those that exhibit nothing but remains. Among the latter is Bona, supposed to be the ancient Hippo, which disputes with Constantinople the title of capital. This government is in the vicinity of the desert. The inhabitants greatly value their independence, which they have preserved by forfeiting their wealth. They are, in general, a haughty and warlike race of people.

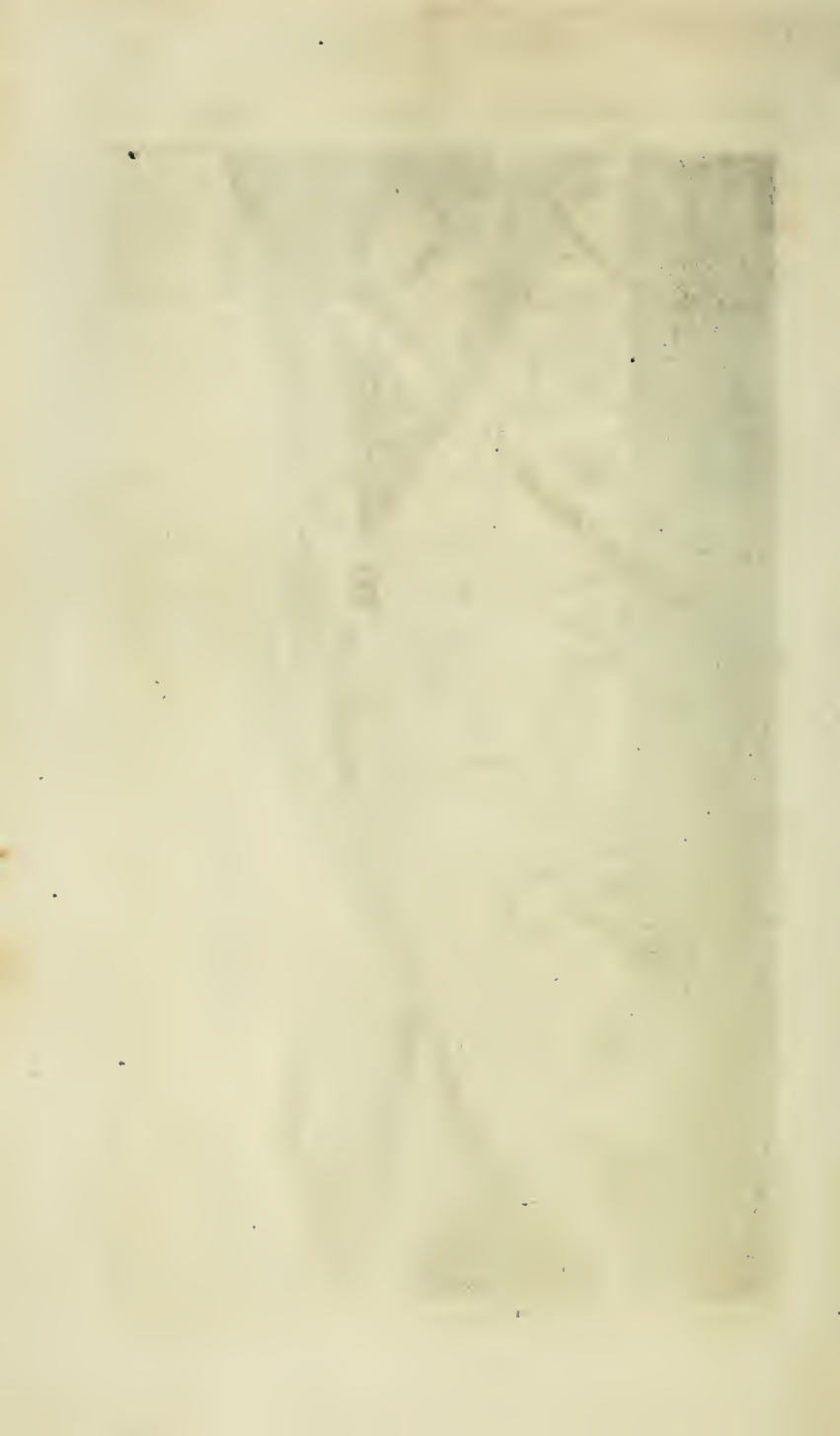
The western also disputes with the eastern government, the melancholy honour of being covered with superb ruins. The capital of this district, for a long space of time, was Oran, which the Spaniards conquered, lost, and retook, and of which they are at present in possession.

The southern government is altogether without cities, as the Arabs, by whom it is inhabited, all live under tents, and are divided into hordes, each of which form a kind of itinerant village, governed by its respective chief. They are subjects on whom little or no dependence can be placed. They ought to pay a kind of tribute to Algiers ; but when the dey endeavours to exact the contributions, they bury their corn and most valuable effects in places which are known only to themselves, and fly to the deserts, or inaccessible retreats, where they are safe from all pursuit.

Algiers, which is the capital of the whole kingdom, forms a sort of an amphitheatre, presenting a most beautiful view, and is washed on the north and north-east by the Mediterranean sea. This city, which is said to contain one hundred thousand Mahometan and fifteen thousand Jewish inhabitants ; being erected on the declivity of a hill, on which the houses rise in regular gradation, almost every one of them commands a delightful prospect of the ocean. The walls of the city are about thirty feet high on the ascent, but towards the sea they are not less than forty, and twelve feet thick, flanked with square towers. There are six gates, all of which are properly fortified and secured. The citadel, which is of an octagonal form, having port holes and embrasures in view, is erected on the most elevated ground within the walls. On the west, the whole city is overlooked by a ridge of high hills, upon which are erected two forts that command a considerable part of the bay and the river Rebar ; but the strongest fortifications lie next the sea.

From this side, according to a recent description





of Algiers, “ the approach towards the city is defended by a strong mole, constructed on a narrow piece of land, five hundred paces in length, well fortified, and supplied with heavy guns ; attached to this is the Light-House Battery, carrying about fifty guns, several of them twenty-four pounders ; some of which bear on the Mole head, and others on the sea. There is besides a strong battery, with seven mortars, bearing from north-west to east ; and several heavy guns on the pier and gateway, which command the Mole. Along the shore they have four forts, with heavy pieces : the largest, called Charles V.’s castle, or the Emperor’s fort, stands to the right of the town, and commands the approach to the city on the land side. The square fort to the right, is on the edge of the shore, which it commands, as does that of the Barbulouet fort on the left, situated at the other extremity of the city, and seconded by another square fort, placed still farther to the left.

“ Besides these, they have twelve batteries of heavy guns, many of them twenty-four pounders, as well as mortars, placed at different distances, at the water-side edge of the town, the walls of which are about forty feet high. The whole shore is well calculated to maintain a strong resistance, and presents a very formidable object on its approach ; though the Algerines, unless assisted by foreigners, are not very capable of making the best use of their means, on account of the unskilfulness of their engineers.”

In this city is only one spacious street, which extends from east to west, but is of unequal width, though broader and more airy than any of the others. Throughout the rest of the town, the streets are so

narrow, that two people can scarcely walk abreast ; a circumstance which, added to their extreme filthiness, renders them exceedingly unpleasant ; especially as there are beasts of burden continually passing and repassing, to which it is absolutely necessary to give way at the first, under no less a risk than that of being trodden under foot, or squeezed to death.

In the centre of the city stands the dey's palace, which is a very magnificent edifice ; the front, facing the interior court, is surrounded with two superb galleries, that are supported by marble pillars ; and there are two spacious halls, in which the divan assembles every Sunday, Monday, and Wednesday.

The houses in Algiers have terraces, upon which the inhabitants pay visits, and by means of which they can go from one end of the town to the other, as there are ladders for ascending or descending, where they are not equal in height. But, notwithstanding the facility of passing from one house to another, there are no thieves in this city ; for if a stranger be caught in any of them, he is punished with death. Near the sea-side are a great number of mosques, which are elegant structures, and contribute greatly to the beautiful appearance of the place. Some of the baths, also, are extremely handsome : the Turks resort to them, not only before the five daily prayers, but whenever they are not engaged in any business which prevents them. The women have particular baths, which are attended by persons of their own sex, where the men are precluded from entering on any pretext whatever.

There is likewise a species of buildings, deno-

minated basos, in which the wretched European slaves are every night immured. In each of these they have a chapel for the free exercise of their religion; every slave receiving a small pittance of bread, and being furnished with a mattress and rug on which to sleep. At an appointed hour in the evening, they repair to these dormitories, where they continue till their brutal and unfeeling masters awake them to fresh scenes of labour and of misery. Till the last century, the city of Algiers had no other supply of fresh water than the rain which was preserved in cisterns; when a Moor, who had been expelled out of Spain, having acquired some proficiency in science, by his acquaintance with Europeans, conducted from the neighbouring mountains two aqueducts, which afforded a sufficient quantity of water to fill a hundred fountains in different parts of the town.

The soil in the neighbourhood of Algiers is extremely fertile; and the country is beautifully diversified with hills, valleys, gardens, groves, and neat little villas, where the more opulent of the people spend their summer retreat. These villas, as well as all the houses in the city, being white, and beautifully shaded with a number of fruit-trees and ever-greens, furnish a most delightful prospect, which no repetition can cloy, or render unpleasing. The habitations of the European consuls, in particular, are finely ornamented with the choicest and most beautiful trees, which are kept properly pruned (a neglect very prevalent among the natives), and produce a great abundance of most delicious fruits.

Algiers has been a den of pirates from the first

moment that their piracies could be carried on with success, against the nations of Europe. The little commerce of the Algerines, is founded on systematic and shameless rapine. Their *exports* have been mainly the produce of plunder in the interior of Africa, and their *imports*, the spoils of their piratical navy. Instead of beginning, like most other nations, with commerce, and assuming a hostile attitude, as their exigences demanded, or their passions prompted, they seem to have started at once *full armed* into ceaseless and ruthless war with all whom their power enabled them to pillage. Perhaps the period cannot be named when Europe received any thing at their hands, but crimes and blood.

The *commerce* of Algiers, is principally carried on by their corsairs, or pirates. Carpets constitute a manufacture of this country, though inferior to those of Turkey. There are also at Algiers, looms for velvets, taffeties, and other wrought silks, and a coarse kind of linen is also made in various parts of the kingdom. Few of their commodities or products are sent into foreign markets; their oil, wax, hides, pulse and corn, being barely sufficient to supply the country, although while grain was in possession of the Algerines, the English merchants shipped from thence seven or eight thousand tons of wheat and barley every year. From Barbary, indeed, Great Britain derives very important supplies of wheat, for Malta and Gibraltar, without which, in time of war, she would be unable to keep up these garrisons.

The remaining exports of the Algerines, consist chiefly of ostrich feathers, wax, hides, wool, copper,

rag, silk sashes, embroidered handkerchiefs, dates, and *Christian slaves*. Their *imports* consist chiefly of gold and silver stuffs, damasks, cloths, spices, tin, iron, plated brass, lead, quicksilver, cordage, sail-cloths, bullets, linen, cochineal, tartar, alum, rice, sugar, soap, cotton raw or spun, copperas, aloes, Brazil and logwood, vermilion, arsenic, gum, tar, sulphur, opium, anise and cummin seed, mastic, sarsaparella, aspic, frankincense, galls, honey, paper, combs, cards, dried fruits, and a variety of woollen stuffs. But of these a small quantity is imported by the merchants, though there is a constant demand for them, on account of heavy duties, frequent exactions, precarious payments, and uncertain returns.

The number of *Negroes*, annually imported as slaves into Algiers, amounts to from 150 to 180, and their price varies from 50 to 150 sequins. The females are often kept as concubines by the wealthy Turks and Moors. Most of these slaves obtain their freedom, either gratuitously or by purchase; and during their slavery they are treated with lenity, and severe usage is noticed and even punished by the government. Both Negro and Christian slaves are employed at Algiers in the same offices as our domestic servants. But Jews and Christians are forbidden from keeping Negro slaves who profess the Mahometan religion. An emancipated slave becomes entitled to the same privileges with the Moors.

The *Christian slaves*, who attend upon the Dey, live well, and are richly clad, but they must seclude themselves from society, and are seldom allowed to leave the palace. The youngest and most beau-

tiful are exposed to the seduction of licentious courtiers. Others, who are the property of the state, are employed in dock-yards and magazines, and are under the command of Turkish Task-masters. They labour from sun-rise to sun-set ; their fare is coarse, and their accommodations at night amidst the filth and vermin, and corrupt air of the bagnios, are more intolerable than the fatigues of the day. The condition of slaves, purchased by individuals, (though often subjected to the capricious cruelties of their masters) is, upon the whole, preferable to that of those who belong to the state. Those who have an opportunity to acquire property, take taverns in the city, and gradually become rich.

Of *renegadoes*, the number is but small ; they are either Jews or Christians, the former, of whom there are commonly more women than men renounce the faith of their ancestors, and embrace the predominant religion of the country, for the purpose of being revenged of their relations, or with a view to escape from merited and apprehended punishment, or from motives of ambition or interest : if these possess talents, and render any great service to the government, they are sometimes advanced to honourable and lucrative employments. Of *Christian* renegadoes, the number is not so great : the zeal to gain proselytes from Christianity is now much abated ; and such conversions are but little encouraged, and, in many instances, not permitted, as the proprietors of the slaves would be losers, and be deprived of the expected ransom. Renegadoes are despised and distrusted, and not without reason, for most of them are in judgment and affection attached neither to one religion nor the other.

The following Account of the manner of taking Vessels, practised by the Algerines, is from the interesting Narrative of an unfortunate Englishman, who was taken some years ago by these piratical Barbarians.

“The day in which we were taken” says he “our mate, Mr. John Milton, was early at top-mast-head, and cried out, *A sail!* The master asked him, *Where?* At leeward, replied the mate, about five or six leagues. And so, to be brief in my relation, about mid-day, being almost overtaken by them, (the enemy being but about a mile distance from us,) our master said, it will be in vain for us to make our flight any longer, seeing it will be but an hour or two ere we shall be taken, and then, probably, fare the worse if we continue our flight. I may leave any person to judge what a heartless condition we were in; but still we could not forbear kenning the ship, that unwelcome object, which, devil-like, was eager in the pursuit of us. All hope now failing, there being no place for refuge, we hauled up our sails, and waited for them. As soon as the pirate came up with us, the captain being a Dutch renegade, and able to speak English, bid us hoist out our boat; which we could not do without much trouble and time, by reason that a few days before, one of our men, in a great storm, was washed overboard, and I myself was so scalded with boiling water, as to be disabled for working; so that we had but four men that were able: and therefore, before we could make half ready to hoist out our boat, they came aboard us in their own.

“ I being but young, the enemy seemed to me as monstrous ravenous creatures ; which made me cry out, O Master ! I am afraid they will kill us and eat us. No, no, child, said my master, they will carry us to Algiers, and sell us.

“ The very first words they spoke, and the first thing they did, was beating us with ropes, saying, *Into boat, you English dogs !* And without the least opposition, with fear, we tumbled into their boat, we scarce knew how ; which when they had loaded, they carried us aboard their ship, and diligent search was made about us for money, but they found none. We were the first prize they had taken for that voyage, though they had been out at sea about six weeks. As for our vessel, after they had taken out of her what they thought fit, and necessary for their use, they sunk her ; for being laden with fish, they thought it not worth while to carry, or send her home to Algiers.

“ Soon after our arrival at Algiers we were carried ashore to the captain’s house, and allowed nothing but a little bread and water that night. The next morning, (as their custom is,) they drove us all to the Dey’s or King’s house, who makes his choice, and takes the *pengick*, i. e. the eighth part of the slaves for public use, and the same part of the cargo. After which, we were all driven from thence to the battistan, or market-place, where Christians are wont to be sold. There we stand from eight of the clock in the morning, until two in the afternoon, (which is the limited time for the sale of Christians,) and have not the least bit of bread allowed us, during our stay there. Many persons are curious to come and take a view of us, while we stand exposed

to sale; and others, who intend to buy, to see whether we be sound and healthy, and fit for service. The taken slaves are sold by way of auction, and the crier endeavours to make the most he can of them: and when the bidders are at a stand, he makes use of his rhetoric, Behold, what a strong man is this! What limbs he has! He is fit for any work. And, see what a pretty boy this is! No doubt his parents are very rich, and able to redeem him with a great ransom. And with many such like fair speeches does he strive to raise the price. After the bidders have done bidding, the slaves are all driven again to the Dey's house, where any that have a mind to advance above what was bidden at the Battistan, may; but then, whatsoever exceeds the bidding in that place, belongs not to the pickaroons, or pirates, but goes to the Dey."

The same author gives the following account of the behaviour of the Algerines at sea, and their superstitious addresses to the Marabbots or saints for success.

"The first thing the Algerines do when any ship comes home from cruising, is with all expedition to take every thing out, ballast and all; and then careen again, and tallow all under water to the very keel. Having so done, they take in all again as fast as they can, and when they are ready, and fit to put to sea, a signal is given for any that will to come on board, and they refuse none that offer themselves, whether they be able or unable, old or young. The gunners have two parts or shares of what is taken; and the soldiers the same; the slaves that labour,

some two, some three, and some four, but it goes to their Patroons; and all the rest have one part.*

“The guns being fired, they all take their leave of their friends, saying, *Allah-smorla dick*; i. e. I leave you with God. Their friends usually return, *Alla Deumlick weara*; i. e. God give you a good prize. And it is here to be noted, that if there be several ships going out together, then the captain who was first registered, is admiral of the said ships; and none can be registered a captain, until he bring in eight Christian slaves, so that the governor may have the *pengick*; i. e. the one eighth. And every such captain has, when he dies, in honour of him, an ancient staff set up at the head of his sepulchre, and every sabbath-day, which with them is Friday, his surviving relations hang up their flag on it; and this they do for many years after his decease.

* The occupations of these pirates are well described in the ‘Corsair’ of Lord Byron:—

In scattered groupes upon the golden sand,
 They game,—carouse,—converse,—or whet the brand;
 Select the arms—to each his blade assign,
 And careless eye the blood that dims its shine:
 Repair the boat—replace the helm or oar,
 While others straggling muse along the shore;
 For the wild bird the busy springes set,
 Or spread beneath the sun the dripping net:
 Gaze where some *distant sail* a speck supplies,
 With all the thirsting eye of enterprize—
 Tell o’er the tales of many a night of toil,
 And marvel where they next shall *seize a spoil*;
 No matter where—their chiefs allotment this—
 Theirs—to believe *no prey or plan* AMISS.

“ At their return from sea, if they have taken any prize, all the slaves and cargo are sold by way of auction; and all sorts of people, whether Turks, Moors, Jews, or Christians, have their liberty to advance in bidding; and after the money is paid which is bid, every person receiveth his part or parts.

“ The Algerines are a very timorous sort of people, willing to sleep in a whole skin, and therefore care not how little they fight; but show themselves wondrously valiant upon poor small merchantmen. But many times they have made some attempts on great merchantmen, and have come off with shame and broken bones. And this is not much to be surprised at, because they have no order in their engagements, neither is there any punishment for such of the inferior soldiers as do not fight.

“ When at sea, they make a gathering of small wax candles, which they usually carry with them, and bind them in a bundle; and then, together with a pot of oil, throw them overboard, as a present to the Marabbot, or saint, who lies entombed there on the Barbary shore, near the sea, and hath so done for many scores of years, as they are taught to believe; not in the least doubting, but the present will come safe to the Marabbot's hands. When this is done, they all together hold up their hands, begging the Marabbot's blessing and a prosperous voyage. And if they at any time happen to be in a very great strait, or distress, as being chased, or in a storm, they will gather money, and do likewise. Besides which, they usually light up abundance of candles in remembrance of some dead Marabbot or other, calling upon him with heavy sighs and groans. At

such times also they collect money, and wrap it in a piece of linen cloth, and make it fast to the ancient staff of the ship, so dedicating it to some Marabbot; and there it abides till the arrival of the ship, when they bestow it in candles, or oil, to give light, or in some ornament to beautify the Marabbot's sepulchre. For these Marabbots have generally a little neat room built over their graves, resembling in figure their mosques, or churches, which is very nicely cleansed, and well looked after.

“ But to return to their custom at sea. If they find no succour from their before-mentioned rites and superstitions; but that the danger rather increases, then they go to sacrificing of a sheep (or two or three upon occasion, as they think needful), which is done after this manner: having cut off the head with a knife, they immediately take out the entrails, and throw them, and the head overboard; and then with all the speed they can (without skinning) they cut the body into two parts by the middle, and throw one part over the right side of the ship, and the other over the left, into the sea, as a kind of propitiation. Thus those blind infidels (as the papists do, to whom they really seem to be akin in several things,) apply themselves to imaginary intercessors, instead of the living and true God, who alone is able to command the swelling and mounting billows of the sea to be quiet and still.

“ As I intimated before, they are wondrously valiant against a weak enemy, and vigorous in their chase after small vessels; and so careful are they that nothing may hinder their speed, that they will scarce suffer any person in the ship to stir, but all must sit stock-still, unless necessity otherwise re-

quires. All things that are capable of any motion, must be fastened, or unhangd, (even the smallest weight,) lest the pursuit should be something retarded thereby.

“ But as they are eager upon a small ship, so if it happen at any time that they chase a great one, they will slack their pace as soon as they come near enough to apprehend what she is ; or if at any time they see a ship preparing to fight them, their courage is apt to be very soon daunted. Many ships of twelve, ten, or eight guns, have escaped their hands very manfully, whilst the Turks have come home shattered, and with shame. The Algerines are not in truth such *daring sparks* as they are thought to be. And I verily believe that many ships, much unequal to them in strength, might escape being taken, if they would but appear brave, and look them boldly in the face.”

KINGDOM OF TRIPOLI.

THIS state, though tributary to the Porte, assumes the title of kingdom, and receives its appellation from the metropolis, called New Tripoli, to distinguish it from the ancient city in Phœnicia, which still retains its original denomination. This kingdom, which includes the desert of Barca, and the rest of Barbary, is bounded on the east by Egypt, on the north by the Mediterranean sea, on the west by Tunis, and on the south by Nubia, and extends about twelve hundred miles in length, but is of very

disproportionate breadths. In this country there are no rivers of consequence ; nor is its coast distinguished for any natural curiosities, except the gulf of Sydra, denominated the Syrtis Magna, in order to distinguish it from the Syrtis Minor, which lies on the coast of Tunis.

Tripoli is divided into maritime and inland ; and the worthless inhabitants of these great districts are designated by the odious character of being pirates in the former, and robbers in the latter. The chief cities and towns are situated along the coast ; but few of them merit any particular description, being in general thinly inhabited, meanly built, and ruined on the one hand by the exactions of the government, and on the other by the depredations of the plundering Arabs.

Tripoli, the metropolis of the kingdom, is situated in fourteen degrees thirty minutes of east longitude, and in thirty-three degrees five minutes of north latitude, and is a small, but populous place. This city stands on a sandy situation by the shore, and is surrounded by high walls, flanked with pyramidical towers. It has two gates ; one fronting the north, or sea-side, the other the south, or interior parts of the country. To the east is a group of rugged rocks, on which are to be seen the ruins of some ancient forts ; to the west is a strong castle, surrounded with fortifications in the modern style, and defended by caannon of uncommonly large dimensions. Old Tripoli lies at a small distance, almost in ruins ; and is chiefly remarkable for having been the birth place of the Roman emperor Severus.

New Tripoli was built by the natives, who gave it the appellation of Tarabilis, or Trebilis. It was

once a place of great trade ; and being filled with a number of capital edifices, exceeded all the neighbouring cities for opulence and beauty. It retains, however, very few marks of its ancient splendour ; and its great decay seems to have been occasioned by the want of water and corn, two of the principal articles of life. Its limits are become very contracted ; and the houses are mean, low, and irregular. It, nevertheless, contains some monuments, that evince its ancient magnificence ; particularly a noble triumphal arch, part of which lies buried in the sand, though enough of it is still visible to excite our admiration of its elegant architecture. This structure has been composed of the finest marble ; and it is evident, that the whole has been executed according to the purest models of antiquity : over each of its four gates is a triumphal chariot, in one of which Alexander is represented drawn by two sphinxes.

This arch is very entire, if compared to other similar antiquities in this country : and it seems to be indebted for its preservation, rather to the effects of superstition, than to the substance of which it is formed ; a tradition having prevailed for a number of ages, that its demolition will be attended with some dreadful calamity. In order to establish the authenticity of this foolish and idle story, the natives shew a stone, almost separated from the building, which they confidently affirm was displaced by the command of one of their princes, whose workmen were immediately alarmed by an earthquake ; but persevering in the attempt, notwithstanding this salutary and supernatural admonition to desist, they were all buried under an immense cloud of sand.

The Franciscan friars, with several other orders of monks, have settled in New Tripoli, where the former have a handsome church, convent, and hospital; the last of which edifices is too often rendered necessary on account of the malignant and pestilential disorders which infest the city. Near to the walls is an ancient burying-place, where urns, medals, and other reliques, are frequently found. Notwithstanding the barrenness of the soil, the surrounding country is adorned with a number of handsome villas, the christian slaves, who are however not numerous, being employed in cultivating the gardens. The principal trade of new Tripoli consists of linen, great quantities of which are manufactured by the inhabitants; but they place their chief dependence on their corsairs, who are more mischievous and desperate than any other on this piratical coast.

The grand seignior sends to Tripoli a pacha, who is not merely a titular vassal of the Porte, but really under subjection and tributary. Their avarice, however, and the sums they are obliged to send to Constantinople, have loaded the people with such heavy imposts, that most of the inhabitants are reduced to the lowest state of indigence and misery.

Of the *city of Tripoli* some curious and interesting particulars are given by Ali Bey, who travelled as a *Mahometan*, and was every where received as such. He visited Tripoli in the year 1805, and he thus notices the place.

Tripoli in Barbary is named by the natives *Tarables*. This town is much handsomer than any in the kingdom of Morocco. It is situated on the sea-shore, and its streets are straight and pretty large.

Its houses are regular, well built, and are almost all of a dazzling white; the architecture approaches more to the European than the Arabian style; the gates are generally in the Tuscan style. The stone columns, and the arches of the courts, are of a round form, whereas those of Morocco are pointed. It is very common to see stone buildings; and even marble is employed for the construction of the courts, gates, stairs, and mosques. The houses have windows towards the streets, which is not the case at Morocco, but they are always shut with very close blinds.

It is a strange fashion in the houses of Tripoli, that in almost all the rooms, which are very long and narrow, there is at each end a sort of stage of planks, about four feet high, with narrow stairs. These alcoves are furnished with rails and wooden ornaments, and there is a door under each of them. On inquiry, I found that they are made to contain the complete household furniture of a woman; as upon one of the alcoves the bed is placed; upon the other the wearing apparel and that of the children; under the one are the table utensils and the victuals; under the other, the remainder of the wearing apparel, linen, &c.

In consequence of this arrangement, the middle of the apartment is noways encumbered, and affords plenty of room to receive the company, and a man may keep in a house of three or four rooms, three or four women, with all possible convenience, and without their being in the way of each other.

There are neither springs nor rivers in Tripoli. The inhabitants are obliged to drink rain water, which they preserve in cisterns, attached to every

nouse; for their baths, ablutions, and other uses, they employ brackish water, which they take from wells.

The plague has much diminished the population of Tripoli, and has often carried off whole families. There are still some houses which have been abandoned, or destroyed on account of this scourge.

The whole number of the inhabitants may be estimated at about twelve or fifteen thousand souls; the population consists of Moors, Turks, and Jews; and as the Government was formerly entirely composed of Turks, the civilization is much more advanced than at Morocco. Silk, and tissues of gold and silver, are generally employed in their dresses. The court is as brilliant as possible. Most part of the inhabitants know and speak various European languages. The Pasha himself speaks Italian. The Moors look upon this as a sin.

Society is much more free and easy than at Morocco. The European Consuls came often to pay me visits, and nobody cared about it. European renegadoes are advanced to places, and may obtain the highest rank. The admiral or chief of the whole Tripolitan marine is an English renegado, who has married a relation of the Pasha's. The Christian slaves are well treated; they are permitted to serve any body, on condition of giving part of the profits to Government.

The sovereign of Tripoli preserves still the title of Pasha, who was sent every three years by the Grand Seignior. These ephemeral Pashas considered the firmans, which constituted their nominations, as an authorization to commit their robberies on the inhabitants; but tired of these vexations,

the people assassinated the last Pasha, of the Sublime Porte, and in pursuance of this revolution, which took place about eighty years ago, they chose for their Prince *Sidi Hhamet Caramanli*, a native of Caramania, who took also the title of Pasha, and who was the founder of the present dynasty. After Sidi Hhamet, his son, Sidi Ali, father of the present Pasha, mounted the throne, but several revolutions having obliged him to quit the country, he retired to Tunis. The son of Sidi Ali, called after his ancestor Sidi Hhamet, succeeded him. He was a vicious character, unworthy of his high rank, and it was to his bad qualities that he owed the loss of his throne and life. He was succeeded by his brother Sidi Yusuf, who is the reigning Pasha.

Sidi Yusuf, or Lord Joseph, is about forty years old, he is a sensible man, speaks good Italian, and has a fine countenance; he is fond of pomp, magnificence and show; he is endowed with dignity, and his manners are agreeable and polite. He has reigned already about ten years and a half, and the people seem very much satisfied with him.

Sidi Yusuf keeps but two women; the one, his cousin, is of a fair complexion, the other is a negress. He has three sons and three daughters by the former, and one son and two daughters by the latter. He has some negresses for slaves, but no whites. He likes that his women should use all possible luxury and magnificence in their dress and in their houses.—*See Ali Bey's Travels*, vol. i. p. 233.

Of *Sidi Yusuf*, the reigning Bey, some interesting anecdotes are to be found in the very entertaining “Narrative of Ten Years Residence at Tripoli.”

Ali Caromalli, or Caromanli, the reigning bashaw

in 1784, was the grandson of Hamet, who, after treacherously causing the assassination of the Turkish soldiery, whom he looked upon as his gaolers, succeeded in procuring a *firman* from the Grand Signior, which settled the succession of the pachalick in the Moorish line. He had three sons from one wife, the eldest of which, Sidi Hassan, who has the title of bey, and is considered as the legitimate successor of the throne, was about thirty years of age; the second was named Sidi Hamet; and the youngest, about twenty, *Sidi Useph*, the last of whom at present fills the throne of Tripoli; the two younger brothers, and particularly the latter, conceived an inveterate hatred against the bey, and, as usual, in all the Mahometan governments, conspired to deprive him of the succession.

On the feast of Beiram, which immediately follows the fast of Ramadan, every good Mussulman endeavours to settle all quarrels which may have disturbed the peace of his family in the foregoing year. On the first day of this feast also, it is usual for the subjects of a certain rank to do homage to the sovereign. On such occasions, two of the people, in whom the bashaw has the greatest confidence, stand on each side of him; their office is to lay hold of the arm of every stranger that presents himself to kiss the bashaw's hand, for fear of any hidden treachery, and only people of consequence and trust are permitted to enter his presence armed. The drawing-room, in honour of the day, was uncommonly crowded; when all the courtiers were, in a moment, struck with a sight that seemed to congeal their blood: they appeared to expect nothing less than the slaughter of their sovereign, at the foot of

his throne, and themselves to be sacrificed to the vengeance of his enemies. The three princes entered with their chief officers, guards, and blacks, armed in an extraordinary manner, with their sabres drawn. Each of the sons, surrounded by his own officers and guards, went separately up to kiss the bashaw's hand. He received them with trembling, and his extreme surprise and agitation were visible to every eye, and the doubtful issue of the moment appeared terrible to all present. The princes formed three divisions, keeping distinctly apart; they conversed with the consuls, and different people of the court, as freely as usual, but did not suffer a glance to escape each other. They stayed but a short time in the drawing-room, each party retiring in the same order they had entered; and it became apparent, that their rage was levelled against each other, and not against their father, though the bashaw seemed only to recover breath on their departure.*-

The Bey is stated to have used means to conciliate his brothers, but in vain; he is described, indeed, as a man of very engaging manners, of a calm and tranquil disposition, which had assumed a cast of melancholy, from having lost all his sons in the dreadful plague that desolated the Barbary states in the year 1785. In heading the army against some refractory Arab chiefs, his appearance at his departure is thus described. In about two hours after his attendants had waited for him, the Bey came out of the castle, habited in a loose dress of blue and gold tissue, over a pale yellow caftan, embroi-

* Tully's Narrative, p. 126.

dered with gold and silver. His belt was studded with jewels, and his turban was crossed over with gold drapery, having long ends pendant from it. He had a very large jewel claw in his turban, which had been newly set, and looked extremely beautiful, with a new gold crescent, considerably larger than that he usually wears.

We never saw the Bey received better by the Moors. Their acclamations were loud and incessant for some time; and the Bey, whose figure is always interesting, looked particularly handsome and majestic. He mounted a most splendid black horse. The animal seemed to vie with its master in the richness of its appearance; it was adorned with no less than four magnificent velvet housings. The broad black chest of the horse displayed to advantage eight solid gold drop necklaces, which reached to his legs; the saddle was chased gold, the front of it set with jewels; the stirrups were very large, and appeared like burnished gold. His whole appearance was uncommonly brilliant.

Though the two brothers conspired against the Bey, there was no common sentiment but that of jealousy as to his successor; and they were perpetually wrangling with each other; their quarrels, however, as generally happens among these lawless African princes, originated chiefly with their dependants. Savage as these fraternal broils must be deemed, they are sometimes not altogether divested of a noble sentiment. On a rencontre of the two brothers, at the head of their armed followers, Sidi Hamet the elder, approaching his brother Sidi Useph, thus addressed him,—“Sidi Useph, what shall we get by cutting our servants to pieces *here*,

who are all friends, *wield-el-bled* (sons of the town;) we may fill the castle with blood, and frighten the women, but *here* we shall escape each other's arms; if we fall, it may be by some of our own people, and our private quarrel will remain unrevenged. Call for your horse, mine is ready, and let us instantly go out in the *pianura* (or plain) and there settle this dispute between us."—At this moment the wife and the mother of Sidi Hamet rushed forward, screaming in despair, and followed by their slaves, awakened the Bashaw, by the *woulliah-woo*, which ran through the castle. The Bashaw ordered them to disarm, and to embrace each other. Sidi Hamet and Sidi Useph approached the Bashaw; they each kissed his hand, and laid it on their heads, then kissed his head, and the hem of his garment, and wished him, in the Moorish manner, a long life. They were retiring, and did not offer to salute each other; the Bashaw seized both their hands in his, and said, "By the prophet, by my head, by your hands, and by this hand that holds them, there is peace between you."*

The two brothers had not long before this taken the most sacred oaths of friendship and fidelity to each other at the shrine of their temple; and they had very recently gone together to renew these oaths in a still stronger manner, by performing the last ceremony resorted to in this country, *the mixing of blood*. "To accomplish this barbarous idea, they approached together the altar of Mahomet, and, after swearing by the Koran, each to hold the other's life sacred, they wounded themselves with

* Tully's Narrative, p. 217.

their knives, and mixing their blood in a vessel, shocking to relate, they sipped of it."

But oaths had no effect in binding the youngest brother, Sidi Useph. He was as faithless to the second as to the Bey, whose assassination and the treacherous manner in which it was accomplished, form so striking a picture of these barbarians, that we shall extract from the "Narrative" the relation of this horrid transaction at full length. It is necessary to premise, that this accomplished hypocrite, Sidi Useph, had made to their mother (Lilla Halluma) the proposal for a reconciliation, intreating that it might take place in her own apartment, and in her presence.

When the Bey came to his mother's apartment, Lilla Halluma, perceiving his sabre, begged of him to take it off before they began to converse, as she assured him his brother had no arms about him. The Bey, to whom there did not appear the smallest reason for suspicion, willingly delivered his sabre to his mother, who laid it on a window near which they stood, and feeling herself convinced of the integrity of the Bey's intentions, and being completely deceived in those of Sidi Useph's, she with pleasure led the two princes to the sofa, and seating herself between them, held one of each of their hands in hers, and, as she since said, looking at them alternately, she prided herself on having thus at last brought them together as friends.

The Bey, as soon as they were seated, endeavoured to convince his brother, that though he came prepared to go through the ceremony of making peace with him, yet there was not the least occasion for it on his part, for that he had no animosity to-

wards him; but, on the contrary, as he had no sons of his own living, he considered Sidi Hamet and himself as such, and would continue to treat them as a father whenever he came to the throne. Sidi Useph declared himself satisfied, but said, to make Lilla Halluma easy, there could be no objection, after such professions from the Bey, to their both attesting their friendship on the Koran; the Bey answered, "With all my heart, I am ready." Sidi Useph rose quickly from his seat, and called loudly for the Koran, which was the signal he had given his infernal blacks to bring his pistols, two of which were immediately put into his hand, and he instantly fired at the Bey, as he sat by Lilla Halluma's side on the sofa. Lilla Halluma raising her hand to save her son, had it most terribly mangled by the splinters of the pistol, which burst, and shot the Bey in his side. The Bey rose, and seizing his sabre from the window, where Lilla Halluma had laid it, he made a stroke at his brother, but Sidi Useph instantly discharged a second pistol, and shot the Bey through the heart. To add to the unmerited affliction of Lilla Halluma, the murdered prince, in his last moments, erroneously conceiving she had betrayed him, exclaimed; "Ah, madam, is this the last present you have reserved for your eldest son?" What horror must such words from her favourite son have produced in the breast of Lilla Halluma in her present cruel situation! Sidi Useph, on seeing his brother fall, called to his blacks, saying, "There is the Bey, finish him." They dragged him from the spot, where he lay yet breathing, and discharged all their pieces into him. The Bey's

wife, Lilla Aisher, hearing the sudden clash of arms, broke from her women, who endeavoured to restrain her, and springing into the room, clasped the bleeding body of her husband in her arms, while Lilla Halluma, endeavouring to prevent Sidi Useph from disfiguring the body, had thrown herself over it, and fainted from the agony of her wounded hand. Five of Sidi Useph's blacks were, at the same moment, stabbing the body of the Bey as it lay on the floor; after which miserable triumph they fled with their master.

Their wanton barbarity, in thus mangling the Bey's remains, having produced the most dreadful spectacle, Lilla Aisher, (the Bey's wife) at this sight of horror, stripped off all her jewels and rich habits, and threw them in the Bey's blood, and taking from off one of her blacks the worst baracan amongst them, made that serve for her whole covering. Thus habiting herself as a common slave, she ordered those around to cover her with ashes, and in that state she went directly to the Bashaw, and told him, if he did not wish to see her poison herself and his grandchildren, to give immediate orders that she might quit the castle; for she "would not live to look on the walls of it, nor to walk over the stones that could no longer be seen for the Bey's blood, with which they were now covered."

As Sidi Useph left the castle, he met the great Chiah, the venerable Bey Abdallah, (the son of the last Turkish Bashaw,) who was much attached to the royal family here, and beloved by the people. This officer, seeing the dreadful state of Sidi Useph, being almost covered with his brother's blood, expressed his fears that something fatal had happened.

Sidi Useph aware, from this officer's religious principles, he could not be supposed to approve of this day's deeds, he therefore stabbed him to the heart the moment they met, and the Chiah died instantly at his feet. Sidi Useph's blacks, who were following him, threw the Chiah's body into the street before the castle gates, and the *hampers* standing by, carried it home to his unhappy family: it was buried at the same hour with the Bey's.*

So habituated are the people to scenes of this kind, that this atrocious murder caused little or no disturbance in Tripoli. The public criers, by order of the Bashaw, proclaimed through the city, "*To the Bey who is gone, God give a happy resurrection, and none of his late servants shall be molested or hurt.*" Notwithstanding which, the followers of the murderer were ordered by their master to put to death the servants of the late Bey, wherever they should find them. As to the murderer, the grave was hardly closed over the brother he had so treacherously assassinated, when he gave a grand entertainment, at which, the sounds of music, firing, and women, hired to sing and dance, were louder than at the feast of a wedding. A few days after this, Sidi Hamet their second son, was proclaimed Bey.

The high officers of state are the *Hasnadar*, or treasurer, the *Guardian Bashi*, or chief of the palace; the *Kiahia*, or lieutenant of the Pasha, who occupies a magnificent sofa in the hall of the palace; the second *Kiahia*; five Ministers for the different administrations; the aga of the Turks, and

* See the interesting "Narrative," p. 227.

the general of the Arabian cavalry. The Pasha's guard consists of three hundred Turks, and one hundred Mamelukes on horseback.

Besides this guard the Sultan has no other regular troops embodied. In time of war he convokes the Arabian tribes, who appear upon his summons with their banners or standards at their head, and who muster to the amount of ten thousand horse, and forty thousand infantry.

The places of worship at Tripoli (we are informed by Ali Bey) consist of six mosques of the first rank, with minarets, and six smaller ones. The great mosque is magnificent, and of a handsome architecture. The roof, composed of small cupolas, is supported by sixteen elegant Doric columns of a fine grey marble, which are said to have been taken in a Christian vessel. It was built by the grandfather of Sidi Yusuf. This building, as well as others of the same kind, are by far superior to those of Morocco; they are of a majestic elevation, and have lofty galleries for the singers, like European churches; they are covered with carpets, whereas the mosques even of the Sultan of Morocco's palace, have nothing but common mats, except that of Mulei Edris at Fez, which was also covered with carpets.

The minarets of Tripoli are of a cylindrical form, very lofty, and with a gallery round them at the upper part, in the middle of which, another small steeple like a sentry-box is constructed. From this gallery the *muedden* or crier at the appointed hours, summons the people to prayers.

The worship is plainer and more mystical at Morocco; here it is complicated and pompous.

On Fridays at noon several singers begin the ceremony by singing verses from the Koran. The Iman mounts his private pulpit, which is nothing else but a staircase as at Morocco, with this difference, that it is here of stone, whereas at Morocco it is of wood. He turns towards the wall, and in a low voice recites a prayer; which done, he turns towards the people, and sings a sermon in the same trembling and quivering voice, and with the same tones and *cadenzas* of certain Spanish songs, called *Polo andalous*. One part of the sermon varies, and the preacher sings it from his manuscript; the other part, which never changes, is recited by heart, and sung in the same tune with prayers, and other occasional formules.

At the end of the sermon, the Iman turns with affectation towards the mehereb or the box which is to his right hand, singing a prayer in a higher tone, after which he turns with the same affectation towards the left side, and repeats the same prayer; he afterwards descends two or three stairs of the pulpit, and says some prayers for the Pasha and for the people, to which the faithful say *Amin*. Finally, the Iman goes down to the mehereb, and whilst the chorns is singing, he recites with the people the canonical prayer, which is the same as at Morocco. The cries from the minarets for the convocation of the people for prayers, are not so clamorous at Tripoli as they are at Morocco; for in some mosques children only are employed for the function of mueddens, and their shrill voices are not fit to excite devotion.

During Ramadan the funeral trumpets are not

used here as in Morocco; the steeples are illuminated every night, and the mueddens sing tedious prayers. The mosques are supported by funds consisting of houses and lands, which are the gifts of individuals.

The markets at Tripoli are well supplied, and the prices are very moderate. Bread and meat are of a good quality; the vegetables are but indifferent. The cuscussu is not so well made here as in Morocco. The country produces oil sufficient for its consumption. Various kinds of grain are used for their food; some of them, of which I obtained samples, are brought thither from the interior part of Africa.

The ground is common to every one as at Morocco, except when confined by a hedge, which constitutes the property; there are some inhabitants who possess from fifteen to twenty enclosed farms, and it is said that the Pasha's farm is very handsome. As there are no fresh springs, the gardens are watered with the briny water of some wells, which is drawn up by a mule that sets in motion a pulley, to which a bucket, or leathern pail is fastened.

The Jews, who have three synagogues in this place, are by far better treated than at Morocco. They amount to about two thousand, and dress like the Mahometans, with the only difference, that their caps and slippers must be black, their turban is generally blue. There are about thirty of them who are considered to be in good circumstances; the others are workmen, goldsmiths, &c. The trade of Europe is almost entirely in their hands; they

correspond with Marseilles, Leghorn, Venice, Trieste, and Malta.*

A more fertile or luxuriant country than that which is seen in the immediate neighbourhood of this city cannot be imagined. Leaving the gate which opens on the land-side, the prospect is extremely gratifying. Country houses, extensive pleasure gardens, groves of orange-trees, and innumerable fountains, together with the incessant progress of vegetation, form an assemblage of rural beauty which is very rarely to be met with. The fairy scene does not, however, reach more than five miles inland, when nothing but an innumerable waste of sand is presented to the eye, and forms a striking contrast with the cultivated fields, to whose edges it approaches.

On the desert towards Egypt are islands of inhabitants, environed by oceans of sand, that completely separate them from the rest of the world, and from each other. None attempt to approach their habitations through the burning regions which surround them. A few of these islands are known to the caravans, where they only stop in case of extreme necessity for refreshments and repose, after the hardships of a journey more dreadful than can be conceived, and which would often not be completed but by the help of the compass, and a knowledge of astronomy. The vast and sudden shifting of the sand, sinking mountains in one spot, and raising them in another, so completely varies the

* See more respecting Tripoli, in the interesting Travels of the enlightened Ali Bey, vol. i. p. 231.

aspect of the way, that the traveller bewildered knows not where he is, except by the above helps.

KINGDOM OF TUNIS.

TUNIS, which was once a sovereignty of great extent, is at present bounded on the north and east by the Mediterraneân sea; on the west by Algiers; on the south, by Tripoli and part of Biledulgerid: and extends from thirty-three degrees thirty minutes, to thirty-seven degrees twelve minutes of north latitude, and is about two hundred and twenty miles in length, and one hundred and seventy in breadth. This country is divided into two parts, denominated the summer and winter circuits; which the Bey annually traverses at those seasons with a sort of flying camp. The principal rivers are the Zaine, which separates Tunis from Algiers; the Megerda, or ancient Bagrada; the Miliana, supposed to be the Catada of antiquity; and the Gabbs, thought to be the Triton.

The air of Tunis is salubrious, and its soil fertile, except towards the south, where barren deserts and moving hills of sand, occupy a large extent, and where the heat is extreme. During the dog-days, the winds which pass over the country are excessively hot and suffocating: and the natives are under the necessity of sprinkling their floors with water, and using other refreshing expedients.

Before enumerating the cities, that are now most distinguished in this country, we shall pay a short and melancholy tribute to those which were formerly the admiration of the world; and of which

it would be difficult to fix the site, did not the page of antiquity aid our researches ; and surely nothing can furnish the contemplative mind with more rational improvement, than a view of the ruins and desolation that every where abounds ! When he beholds the solitary arch, or sublime portico, whether history informs him the great names of antiquity have resorted, and where a succession of various nations have given law, what must be his reflections, or the feelings of his mind ? Does not every mouldering column, every venerable pile of ruins, read the most instructive and important lessons on the weakness, the vanity, and the instability of every thing human ? Does not the melancholy reflection on the many thousands that sleep below, who once enlivened the arts, or graced the triumphal car, imprint on the tablets of our hearts “ what shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue.”

Carthage, once the celebrated rival of Rome, has scarcely withstood the ravages of time. Its ancient harbour is nearly choked up by the mud thrown up by the river Megerda, and the ruins of the city are nearly three miles from the sea, though it formerly extended to the very shore. The ancient Utica has suffered still more from the desolating hand of time, than even Carthage ; and, owing to the recession of the sea, and the conflux of mud, its situation cannot be determined with accuracy and precision. To the east of Carthage lies the Aquilaria of the ancients, where Curio landed the troops who were cut to pieces by Sabura. The amphitheatre of Jemme, the Tristra of Cæsar, is another piece of antiquity.

Tunis, the ancient Tunes, and the present capital

of this kingdom, is neither remarkable for the number of its inhabitants, nor for its public or private edifices ; and in these respects is much inferior to Algiers. It is greatly in want of good water ; but excepting this disadvantage, no place abounds more in all the necessary articles of life. The city has five gates, none of which are distinguished for their beauty. The houses, in general, are only one story in height, with flat roofs. The Bey's palace, which is the most magnificent edifice in this city, contains four superb gates, one in each front, with a lofty turret at every angle. The courts are spacious, the galleries profusely ornamented, and the different apartments very splendid. In Tunis are several colleges and schools, in which the doctors of the laws, and other literati, are maintained. The principal fortification is the castle, which being situated upon an eminence, commands the whole place, and has a grand appearance.

The other cities of note are Bizerta, near which is supposed to be the Sinus Hipponensis of the ancients ; Nabel, the Colonia Neapolis of Ptolemy ; Cairwan, the Vico Augusti of antiquity ; Beja, the Vecca of Sallust ; and Gassa, anciently denominated Capsa.

Tunis resembles Algiers, in that it exhibits the same religion, the same government, the same manners, and the same events, which transferred it from the hands of the Arabs into those of the Turks ; weakened the authority of the latter, and at length brought it to such a state of debility, as to be able to nominate and appoint its own masters under the title of *beys*, but without entirely rejecting the Turkish influence. Till the commencement of the pre-

sent century, the grand seignior appointed deys to the government of Tunis; but they were very different from those of Algiers, being representatives without power or authority. By the assistance of a militia, composed of Moors, Arabs, and above all, renegadoes, the beys rendered themselves completely absolute and independent. The grand seignior no longer sends a dey to Tunis. The divan being chiefly composed of friends and creatures of the bey, seems rather assembled for the purpose of giving its approbation to his resolutions, than for consulting on the justice and expediency of any measure; and he is entirely independent of the Porte.

But though we have said that the Tunisians greatly resemble the Algerines, they are agreeably distinguished from them by their superior politeness and civilization, and by their being exempted from that pride, insolence, and barbarity, for which the natives of this coast are justly stigmatized. They are affable in their manners, friendly and obliging to strangers, and faithful to their compacts. The extension of commerce, the improvement of manufactures, and the friendships they have formed with the European powers, have no doubt contributed to this happy effect on their minds; and as these circumstances tend to extirpate narrow and confined ideas, they by no means treat christians with contempt; on the contrary, they allow them that justice, which in vain is expected from their neighbours. Though they keep some christian slaves, and are not entirely free from that predatory spirit, which characterizes the inhabitants of the Barbary coast, they treat the captives with a considerable

share of lenity and indulgence; and the representations of the European consuls, in their favour, are always heard with candour and attention, and acceded to with the greatest readiness and alacrity.

In England, where female beauty abounds, the Tunisian women in general would be reckoned handsome, and their offspring are born with the finest complexions that can possibly be conceived. The boys, however, are soon tinged with a swarthy complexion, by the heat of the sun; but the girls, who are retained at home, preserve their native beauty till they are past child-bearing, which is usually about the age of thirty. The Tunisian women are frequently mothers at eleven; and as their longevity is nearly proportioned to that of Europeans, they frequently live to see several generations of their children.

The dress of both sexes, though nearly of the same form as that of the Algerines, is considerably neater, and more genteel. When they see company, or go abroad, they wear drawers; but when at home, they sometimes only bind a piece of linen round their waist. The females are extremely fond of having long hair, which they collect together, and plait with ribbands; and when nature does not seem to have been sufficiently liberal in this respect, like the fair of more polished countries, they add to the natural stock by borrowed ornaments. Over the hair thus decorated, they closely tie the corners of a triangular piece of needle-work. Ladies of superior rank wear a head-dress of the same figure, which is composed of thin plates of gold or silver cut through, and engraved in imitation of lace. Their dress is rendered complete, by having a fine

handkerchief, bound close over this ornament, and falling negligently down on the collected hair. Their eye-lashes, and the edges of their eye-lids, are tinged with pulverized lead-ore. This operation is performed by dipping a wooden bodkin into the powder, and drawing it under the eye-lid. It communicates a sable hue, which is considered by the Tunisians as becoming every complexion, and constituting the perfection of beauty. The antiquity of this custom has been proved by an ingenious and learned divine, from the sacred scriptures; which expressly mentions, according to the Hebrew version, that "Jezebel decorated her eyes with the powder of lead-ore."

Jealousy, which appears to be endemial in Barbary, prevails less at Tunis than perhaps in any other state, which we have described in this part of the globe. As their religion obliges them to frequent ablutions, the baths are much resorted to, particularly by the ladies, who, in their washings, make great use of odoriferous gums, and rich perfumes.

The taverns are under much better regulations than those in the neighbouring countries; and even a Turk, who is guilty of intoxication, and behaves himself insolently, may be deprived of his turban till he has made satisfaction. They sell only white wine, which is produced in great plenty in the surrounding country, and is extremely cheap and good. Provisions are so plentiful, that the purchaser of a single quart of wine at a tavern, has two or three dishes of fish or flesh placed before him. Though the natives do not abstain entirely from wine, very few drink it to an excess; but they are very fond of a

compounded drug called *harix*, which inspires them with a dauntless resolution, and exhilarates the spirits, and seems possessed of nearly the same qualities as opium.

As the religion of the Tunisians obliges them to attend public devotion by break of day, they are very early risers. After performing their morning prayers, they follow their respective employments till afternoon, when they again repair to the mosques, and the business of the day ceases. The Arabs can only be roused by the most pressing necessity to diligence or attention in trade and agriculture; their lives being one continual round of indolence and amusement. To hunt the lions and other wild animals, constitutes a favourite diversion; and the inhabitants of a whole district will frequently assemble for this purpose. On these occasions they form a circle of several miles in circumference, which is gradually contracted, till the animals are driven into the centre, where they are immediately dispatched. The ancient diversion of hawking is still practised in this country, which affords great variety of hawks and falcons.

If we observe the manners and customs of these people, we shall perceive, that in a very eminent degree, they partake of the simplicity of the first ages; and if we except the article of religion, we shall find that the Arabs in this state, appear exactly to answer the character and description given of them two thousand years ago. Their common mode of salutation is, "Peace be unto thee!" and when inferiors pay their respects to their superiors, they kiss their feet, knees, or garments; which is also the manner in which children express their de-

ference and duty to parents and relatives. In their hospitality to strangers, they revive the remembrance of the patriarchal customs ; and the greatest prince will not disdain to fetch a lamb from his flock, which is prepared and dressed for the " way-faring man," by the royal consort herself. It is customary for the host to wash the feet of his guests, and to wait on them during the entertainment, with officious kindness. But, notwithstanding this apparent simplicity and benevolence, instances have occurred, in which the host has made free with the property of the unsuspecting traveller, on whom he had so obsequiously attended.

In the habitation of a person of quality, benches may be perceived at the porch or gateway, where the owner receives the visits of his friends, and transacts business. Few persons, even of the nearest relatives, are admitted into the interior parts of the house, except on extraordinary occasions. Every city or village has a piece of ground allotted for sepulture, in which every family of distinction has a particular cemetery inclosed with a wall, where they deposit the bodies in separate graves, with stones at the head and feet of each, and either plant the intermediate space with flowers, or cover it with tiles. Persons of quality generally have a square room, with a handsome cupola erected over their graves. This being kept constantly white and clean, illustrates the expression of Christ, where he compares hypocrites to whited sepulchres, which appear outwardly beautiful, but within are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness.

It is not easy to ascertain the amount of the revenues of the Beys of Tunis ; as they arise from an-

nual tributes paid by the Moors and Arabs, who often evade them ; and from duties on imports and exports, which are in a constant state of fluctuation. The forces of this country consist of renegadoes and a few militia, who are well paid and properly disciplined, and who are kept in garrisons and sea-ports ; there being no janissaries here as at Algiers. The Beys, however, upon emergencies, command a numerous army of Moors and Arabs, but little dependence is to be placed on their fidelity. The naval strength of Tunis is very inconsiderable, and much inferior to what might be expected from a commercial and maritime nation. There are seldom more than four ships belonging to government, the largest of which do not carry more than forty guns, and all of them are badly equipped for service. These, with thirty galliots, commanded by renegadoes, compose the whole naval force of the beys. Other vessels, however, are fitted out by private adventurers, who allow certain perquisites to the Bey on all captures.

Though the duties on anchorage, and loading and unloading goods, in this kingdom, are excessively high, a considerable trade is carried on between the Tunisians, and several European nations. This country exports to France corn, oil, beans, wax, hides, and Morocco leather ; and receives in exchange Languedoc cloths, iron, steel, hard ware, paper, brandy, sugar, and spices. In the management of the Italian trade, Jews are principally concerned, who export the same commodities as those sent to France, and import damasks, gold and silver tissue, with several sorts of silks and woollen stuffs. To the Levant, the Moors and Turks export gold

dust, bales of caps, and lead ; and receive in return silks, calicoes, iron, alum, and vermillion. Into Egypt they carry the same kind of goods, which are exchanged for rice, linen, flax, cotton, and coffee. The commerce between England and Tunis is uncertain, and seems little attended to.

All public treaties are written in the Arabic language ; which, however, has lost much of its original beauty and energy. The great number of renegadoes from Spain, France, and Italy, who are encouraged for disclaiming Christianity, and admired for their superior abilities, have rendered their respective languages very familiar in this country ; but the *Lingua Franca* is principally used in commercial transactions with foreign nations.

The punishments inflicted on criminals are nearly similar to those practised in Algiers ; but superstition has taught them the most dreadful tortures relative to such renegadoes as return to Christianity. These are either inclosed in a cloth dipped in melted pitch, and afterwards set on fire ; or being wholly covered, except the face and head, those parts are anointed with honey, which exposes them to a miserable and lingering death from the stings of wasps and other insects.

The Moors of Tunis, as we have already observed, appear to be less jealous of their wives than the Turks are. In Turkey, the fair sex are guarded by eunuchs ; in Tunis, they have none, nor can the women be said to be guarded at all. They are served by Christian slaves, and, which is curious, they fear less to be seen by Christians than by Musulmen. It is quite uncommon for a Moorish lady to cover herself, either before a Christian slave or

Jew. Does this arise from the contempt with which Christian slaves and Jews are considered? A Christian surgeon, who attended the family of the present Bey, was strongly suspected of an intrigue with one of his wives. This was reported to the prince, who was promised ocular proof of the guilt of the parties. The bed where the surgeon had lain was found warm, and his slippers by the bed-side; but he had effected his escape through a private door, which was discovered in the arras. In the morning the Bey sent for him, gave him a purse of money, and desired him to get off the best way he could from his dominions, otherwise he could no longer be answerable for his life. On the woman, he inflicted no farther punishment, than banishing her ever afterwards from his bed.

The Tunisians have a curious custom of fattening up their young ladies for marriage. A girl after she is betrothed, is cooped up in a small room. Shackles of silver and gold are put upon her ankles and wrists, as a piece of dress. If she is to be married to a man who has discharged, dispatched, or lost a former wife, the shackles which the former wife wore, are put upon the new bride's limbs; and she is fed until they are filled up to the proper thickness. This is sometimes no easy matter; particularly if the former wife was fat, and the present should be of a slender form. The food used for this custom, worthy of barbarians, is a seed called *drough*; which is of an extraordinary fattening quality, and also famous for rendering the milk of nurses rich and abundant. With this seed and their national dish *cuscusu*, the bride is literally crammed, and many actually die under the spoon.

A plurality of wives is allowed in Barbary, as well as in all Mahometan countries. A man here may possess four wives, and as many concubines as he can maintain. It seldom happens, however, that a Moor has more than two wives at the same time; but the ceremony of divorcing them is so simple, that he may change as often as he finds it convenient.*

The Bey of Tunis reserves to himself the privilege of driving in a carriage with four wheels. All Consuls and people of the country, therefore, are obliged to have a carriage with only two. He has become of late, very fond of driving a gig himself. The American Consul had a very handsome one, which his excellency saw; and as he liked it, he sent for it with very little ceremony, saying, "that he needed it, and that the Consul must get another." The Bey is very kind in this respect. A wine-merchant at Tunis had lately a fine mule, which his excellency thought too good for a merchant, but very fit for a present from a prince. Having a present to make in Malta, he took it himself; and thus maintained his dignity, without increasing the expences of the state.

The *exports* of the regency of Tunis, consist of grain of divers qualities, oil, wool, hides, wax, soap, dates, senna, madder roots, coral, oil of roses, ostrich feathers, &c.

Among the principal *manufactures* of Tunis, are *scull-caps* for Mahometans, woollen stuffs, and Morocco leather. The manufacture of scull-caps, which employs several thousand persons, is thus

* See Macgill's Account of Tunis, p. 89.

conducted : the wool is first combed and spun into a coarse soft thread, which is twined, and knit into caps of a conical form, like a night-cap. These are next soaked in oil ; and, on a form put upon the knee of the manufacturer, are milled down, by turning and rubbing the sides together. By this process, they are reduced to about one-third of their original size. When the cap begins to become thick, great care is taken to bring out the nap. This is done by brushing it down with a curious long *bur*, which nature seems to have made for the purpose. A pair of large sheers is used to clip off the parts of the wool which may be too long for the beauty of the manufacture. The caps thus reduced, brushed and clipped, become of the form of a semi-globe. In this state they are sent to Zawan, about thirty miles distant from Tunis, where they are dyed, for the most part, of a deep crimson colour. It is worthy of observation, that the water at Zawan is the only water in the whole regency which can be used for this purpose. It has the quality of giving a particular richness to the dye ; and it is even disputed whether any other water can give a colour so beautiful and so well fixed, for the colour never fades. The caps thus dyed, are returned to the manufacturer ; are milled again somewhat thicker, combed, and clipped with still greater care than before ; and finally, dressed in a manner so elegant, that they actually appear to be made of rich velvet.

It is an erroneous opinion that the caps of Tunis are knit double, like a double cone, or a double night-cap. They are entirely single, and it is only in the milling that the edge of the cap assumes the appearance of being double.

After having gone through all the operations described, the cap is carefully examined by the master of the shop or factory, and all its faulty parts are corrected. A neat tassel of mazarine blue silk thread is then sewed to the top, and it is considered as finished.

The manufacture of caps in Tunis, is upon an establishment which would do no discredit to an European country, and is much superior to what could have been expected, under such a government, and in such a state of society as that of Tunis.*

The woollen stuffs manufactured in the regency of Tunis, are of a thin texture resembling in some degree a soft serge. They are made, says Mr. Macgill, from the finest wool produced in the country, and are really of good workmanship. All classes of Moors who have any covering, are dressed, more or less, in this manufacture. Thousands have no other dress than a scull-cap, and a blanket thrown round the body and shoulders in several turns. Others have turbans and girdles of woollen; and almost all have a cloak, or *Bernous*, as it is called. The fair sex have a robe of woollen gauze thrown round them, some with silk stripes; and many of them wear shawls, both long and square, of the same species of manufacture. This kind of woollen stuff is also used for blankets, which are soft, light, and warm. But besides the immense quantities which are used in the country in these various ways, a great portion is exported both to Europe

* See Macgill's Account of Tunis, p. 154.

and the Levant. The shawls are dyed of different brilliant colours, and are to be seen in every part and city of Turkey.

It is impossible to give a true idea of the extent of this manufacture. Thousands are employed in it, in different parts of the state; and it consumes annually thousands of cantars of wool.

✱ The manufacture of Morocco leather is also considerable. Great quantities of dyed skins are annually exported from the country, and as almost all the Moors wear red leather slippers, or boots, the consumption of this article in the regency, is by no means trifling.

The *imports* of Tunis consist of cloth, British muslins, Irish linen, serges, druggets, coffee, sugar, spices, alum, vitriol, tin, lead, iron, silk, Spanish wool, wine, (of which, one thousand pipes are annually drunk at Tunis,*) spirits, cutlery, cochineal, gum-lac, vermilion, indigo, pernambuco, &c. But for farther information on this subject, consult Mr. Macgill's very correct and interesting 'Account of Tunis,' before quoted.

* This is a quantity more than might be expected in a Mahometan country, where there are few Christians. It is nevertheless true; for many of the Moors drink wine, though contrary to their law.

French wine is most generally drunk; and as strong wines are heating, it seems best adapted to the climate. Some wine is also imported from Sardinia, Spain, and Sicily; but French wine is at all times preferred.

It is contrary to the law of the Mussulman to admit wine into his country, but the thirst of gain causes him to forget his religion. The Bey freely grants his *tescare* for the introduction of it, under the pretence that it is vinegar which is imported.

KINGDOM OF MOROCCO AND FEZ.

MOROCCO and Fez, which now compose one empire, extend from the twenty-eight to the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude, and from the fourth to the eleventh of west longitude, from London ; being about five hundred miles long, and two hundred and fifty broad. It comprehends Fez, Morocco Proper, and Suz; besides the kingdom of Tafilet and the province of Gesula. The climate is in general hot, but not insalubrious, if compared with the neighbouring countries of Tunis and Algiers. Mount Atlas surrounds this country on the south, in the form of a crescent; and is the source of some considerable rivers, which, after a meandering course of many leagues, empty themselves into the Atlantic Ocean. The principal rivers are the Mulvya, which divides the kingdom of Fez from Algiers; the Taga, which discharges its waters into the Mediterranean, near the Straits of Gibraltar; the Cebu, which in its course passes between two rocks of prodigious height, and falls into the sea near Mamon; the On-mirabih, commonly denominated the Marbeah, which after a long course, discharges itself into the ocean, and forms a capacious bay on the east side of Azamor; the Tonsist, which empties itself into the sea, near the port of Saffi; and the Suz, that gives name to the province through which it flows, and forms its boundary.

Most of the towns which Europeans are allowed to enter, being sea-ports, have the advantage of

being frequently refreshed with sea breezes; and Mogadore, though so far to the southward, from being subject in the summer season to have the wind regularly at north-west, is quite as cool as the more temperate climates of Europe. Morocco and Taradant are inland, and therefore, though nearly in the same degree of latitude as Mogadore, are much hotter; their great heats, however, are considerably lessened by their vicinity to the Atlas, the higher parts of which are the whole year covered with snow, and often favour them with cool and refreshing breezes.

The soil of the empire of Morocco is naturally very fertile, and, with proper cultivation and attention, is capable of producing all the luxuries of the eastern and western worlds. It must, however, be confessed, that on some parts of the sea coast, particularly where it is mountainous, like every other country under similar circumstances, the soil is sandy and barren; but wherever there is the least appearance of a plain, such as that between Larache and Mammora, and in the neighbourhood of Morocco and Taradant, the soil is black and rich. Indeed I am informed from the best authority, that at Tafilet, and throughout most of the interior parts of the empire, its fertility is beyond imagination.

From the slight cultivation it at present receives, which is merely the burning of the stubble before the autumnal rains come on, and ploughing it about six inches deep, the earth produces, at a very early season, excellent wheat and barley, though no oats, Indian corn, alderoy, beans, pease, hemp, and flax; oranges, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, melons, water-melons, olives, figs, almonds, grapes, dates, ap-

ples, pears, cherries, plums, and in fact all the fruits to be found in the southern provinces of Spain and Portugal. The people here preserve their grain in matamores, holes made in the earth, lined and covered with straw, on which earth is placed in a pyramidal form, to prevent the rain from soaking through. In these stores corn has been kept five or six years, without undergoing any very material change.

As little encouragement, however, is extended to industry in this country, many of their fruits which require attention, particularly their grapes, apples, pears, plums, &c. do not arrive at that perfection to which they are brought in Europe. Could, indeed, a proper spirit for agriculture and foreign commerce be introduced in the country, or, in other words, could the sovereign be persuaded, that by suffering his subjects to be enriched he would improve his own treasury, this empire, from its convenient situation with respect to Europe, and from the natural luxuriance and fertility of its soil, might become of the highest political and commercial importance. The only material impediment to commerce is the inconvenience and insecurity of the ports.

It is melancholy, in traversing the immense tract of so fine a country, to observe so much land lying waste and uncultivated, which by a very little attention would be capable of producing an inexhaustible treasure to its inhabitants. From this representation it would scarcely be supposed credible, that Spain, which is also a fine country, and a civilized nation, should be obliged to remit to the emperor very large presents of money, to induce him to allow his subjects to export corn, as well as most

other kinds of provisions and fruits, from Tangier and Tetuan. Indeed, the southern provinces of Spain can hardly exist without this supply. To what are we to attribute this circumstance? Is it that Morocco is so much more fertile than Spain, that it produces a redundancy with scarcely any cultivation; or is the indolence of the Spaniards superior to that of the Moors themselves?

The Jews in most of the towns of the empire make wine; but, either owing to the grapes not being in such perfection as those of Europe, or to an improper mode of preparing it, its flavour proves but very indifferent. They also distil a species of brandy from figs and raisins, well known in that country by the name of aquadent. This liquor has a disagreeable taste, but in point of strength is little inferior to spirits of wine. It is drunk without dilution, very freely, by the Jews on all their feasts or days of rejoicing; and there are very few of the Moors who are disposed to forego any private opportunity of taking their share of it also.

The Moors cultivate tobacco; there is a species of it near Mequinez, which affords snuff, the flavour of which is very little inferior to maccaba. To the southward we meet with the palm or date tree, and the arga, bearing a nut of the almond species, with the olive, from both of which the inhabitants extract great quantities of oil, which constitutes a considerable part of their exports to foreign countries. There is also an infinite variety of shrubs and plants, such as the prickly pear, the aloe, &c. all in short that are to be found in Spain and Portugal. Cotton, wax, honey, salt, transparent gum, and gum sandarac, are all productions of this empire.

In the mountains of Atlas there are numerous iron mines ; but as the Moors do not understand the mode of working iron, those mines prove of no use to them, and they are therefore obliged to procure that article from Europe. The neighbourhood of Tarudant produces mines of copper; and the Moors assert, that in the Atlas there are also some of gold and silver, which the emperor will not allow to be touched. But if this assertion had any foundation in truth, the Brebes, who inhabit these mountains, and who are mere nominal subjects, and pay but little respect to the government of Morocco, would long before this time have discovered them. It is, however, probable that this vast chain of mountains may contain productions which might be converted to very valuable purposes; but, owing to a want of emulation on the part of the inhabitants, and Europeans not being allowed to attempt any new discoveries, a knowledge of them is not to be attained.

“ The domestic animals of Morocco, (says Mr. Lempriere,) are much the same as those of Europe, excepting the camel, which is the most useful animal in this quarter of the globe, both on account of the great fatigue which it is capable of undergoing, and the little subsistence it requires. Camels are employed here for all the purposes of agriculture and commerce, and are very numerous. It has been asserted, that dromedaries are indigenous to this country; but in the course of my whole tour I could hear of none, except those which are in the possession of the emperor; and he, as I discovered, procures them from the coast of Guinea. These are the fleetest animals for travelling that are known, and are only used by the emperor upon ur-

gent occasions. I was informed that their pace is sometimes so exceedingly swift, that their riders are obliged to tie a sash round their waists to preserve the power of respiration, and cover the whole of the face except the eyes, to prevent their suffering from the strong current of air occasioned by the rapid motion of the animal. It is computed that, in an ordinary way, a dromedary will perform a journey of five hundred miles in four days.

“The oxen and sheep of this country are small; but their flesh is well flavoured. The hides of the former, and the wool of the latter, are both articles of exportation. The sheep with large tails, distinguished in England by the name of Barbary sheep, are here very scarce, and are more indigenous to the eastern parts of Barbary. The horses, for want of attention in keeping up the breed, are much less valuable than they formerly were; there are still, however, some few that are good in the country, and those are generally strong, and have great spirit. The mules are numerous and useful, though I do not think them equal to those of Spain, either in size or beauty.

“Fowls and pigeons are remarkably plentiful and good in the empire of Morocco; but ducks are scarce, and geese and turkeys I never saw there. The country abounds with the red-legged partridge. In the proper season the frankolin, a bird of the partridge species, of a delicious flavour, and beautiful plumage, is found here; also a few woodcocks, snipes in great numbers, all kinds of water-fowl, and a variety of small singing birds. Storks are very plentiful, and, as they are never molested by the Moors, who are taught to believe it sinful to

destroy them, they become quite domestic and tame. They are generally to be seen feeding among ruinous walls and castles, where they pick up insects and snakes. Hares, rabbits, antelopes, porcupines, apes, foxes, wild-cats, &c. are all natives of this empire.

“ Among the ferocious animals may be enumerated wolves and wild boars, which are spread over the whole empire; and in the southern provinces there are lions, tigers, and monstrous serpents.

“ During my residence in the country, I had frequent opportunities of examining that most singular of the animal productions, the cameleon. Though it is hardly necessary to adduce any proof to the philosophers of the present day against the vulgar error, that it feeds only upon air, yet it may afford some satisfaction to my readers to be told, that I had an opportunity of seeing a complete refutation of this opinion at Mogadore. A gentleman of my acquaintance there had in his possession a cameleon, the dexterity of which in procuring its food I had ample means of observing. The fact is, its principal support is flies, which it catches by darting at them an exceedingly long tongue, covered with a matter so very glutinous, that if it but touches an insect it is impossible for it to escape. The most singular part of its conformation, however, (if, perhaps, we except the power of varying its colours) is the eye, the muscles of which are so constructed that it can move the ball quite round; and I believe it exists the only known instance in all animated nature of a creature which is able to direct its vision to two different objects at the same time, however those objects may be situated Ex-

cept in the act of darting out its tongue to procure subsistence, its motions are remarkably slow."

Although it must be allowed that the climate of Morocco is delightful to a degree, yet it is occasionally subject to great droughts, which naturally produce immense swarms of locusts, the most destructive enemy to vegetation that exists. In the year 1778, these insects came in such numbers from the south, that they perfectly darkened the air, and by destroying all the corn, produced a general famine. This calamity was increased to such a degree in the year 1780, that several unfortunate persons actually died in the streets for want of food; many were driven to the necessity of digging in the earth for roots to supply the urgent calls of nature; while others were happy to find some undigested corn in the dung of animals, which they most eagerly devoured. Upon this occasion of public distress, the emperor generously opened his store of corn, and distributed it, as well as money, among his subjects; and every person who was known to possess stores was obliged to follow his example. These melancholy facts were long kept in the memory of the people, and repeated by them to the Europeans who visited the country.

The manufactures of the empire are the haick, a long garment composed of white wool and cotton, or cotton and silk woven together, and is used by the Moors for covering their under dress when they go abroad, which they do by totally wrapping themselves in it, in a careless but easy manner; silk handkerchiefs of a particular kind, prepared only at Fez; silks chequered with cotton; carpeting, little

inferior to that of Turkey ; beautiful matting, made of the palmetto or wild palm-tree ; paper of a coarse kind ; Cordovan, commonly called Morocco leather ; gunpowder of an inferior nature ; and long-barrelled muskets, made of Biscay iron. The Moors are unacquainted with the mode of casting cannon, and therefore the few that are in the country are presents from Europeans. The manufacture of glass is likewise unknown to them ; as indeed they make great use of earthen ware, and have few or no windows to their houses, this commodity may be of less importance to them than many others. They make butter, by putting the milk into a goat-skin with its outward coat turned inwards, and shaking it till the butter collects on the sides, when it is taken out for use. From this operation it proves always full of hairs, and has an insipid flavour. Their cheese consists merely of curds hardened and dried, and has uniformly a disagreeable taste. The bread in some of the principal towns, particularly at Tangier and Sallee, is remarkably good, but in many other places it is coarse, black, and heavy.

Their markets are under more strict regulations than might be expected from a people who are so deficient in most other instances. A proper officer, entitled almotason, or mayor, is appointed to inspect all kinds of provision and corn, and according to their plenty or scarcity, to fix the price on each article : it is also the duty of this officer to attend the markets constantly, and to see that no person is guilty of overcharging what he sells, for which, upon detection, the offender is punished, by having his hands tied behind him, and being publicly flogged

through all the streets, the executioner occasionally exclaiming, "*Thus do we treat those who impose upon the poor.*" Provisions both of the animal and vegetable kind are sold by the *rtab*, or large pound, consisting of the weight of twenty hard dollars, or Spanish ounces; corn, by the *almood*, four of which are equal to a faneg Spanish, or sack; and articles of merchandise, by the small pound of sixteen Spanish ounces, when sold by weight; and by the code, which is about two-thirds of an English yard, when by measurement.

The Moors, agreeably to the Jewish custom, cut the throats of all the animals they eat, at the same time turning their heads towards Mecca, in adoration of their prophet. After suffering them to bleed freely, they carefully wash all the remaining blood away, and divide the meat into small pieces of about one or two pounds in weight. As they are unacquainted with the invention of pumps, and have but few springs, it affords employment to a number of indigent people, (who would otherwise probably remain idle) to carry water in skins from the nearest river or reservoir, and sell it to the inhabitants. From their being obliged to tar the skins to prevent them from leaking, the water is frequently rendered very unpleasant.

Their looms, forges, ploughs, carpeuters' tools, &c. are much upon the same construction with the unimproved instruments of the same kind, which are used at this time in some parts of Europe, only still more clumsily finished. In their work they attend more to strength, than neatness or convenience; and like all other ignorant people, they have no idea that what they do is capable of improve-

ment. It is probable, indeed, that the Moors have undergone no very material change since the revolution in their arts and sciences, which took place soon after their expulsion from Spain. Previous to that period, it is well known they were an enlightened people, at a time when the greater part of Europe was involved in ignorance and barbarism; but owing to the weakness and tyranny of their princes, they gradually sunk into the very opposite extreme, and may now be considered as but a few degrees removed from a savage state.

They use no kind of wheel-carriage, and therefore all their articles of burden are transported from one place to another, on camels, mules, or asses. Their buildings, though by no means constructed on any fixed principle of architecture, have at least the merit of being very strong and durable. The manner of preparing tabby, of which all their best edifices are formed, is, I believe, the only remains of their ancient knowledge at present existing. It consists of a mixture of mortar and very small stones, beaten tight in a wooden case, and suffered to dry, when it forms a cement equal to the solid rock. There are always unaccountable discrepancies and inconsistencies in the arts of uncivilized nations. The apartments are, if possible, even more inconvenient than those of their neighbours, the Spaniards; but the carved wood-work, with which many of them are ornamented, is really equal to any I have ever seen in Europe.

The Moors have no idea of making high roads, or repairing those which have been formed by the ancient possessors of the country, or perhaps by the mere resort of passengers, but are content to leave

them in the same state in which they found them. Indeed, they are even incapable of comprehending simple fact,—that by improving the roads, travelling would become more expeditious, and less expensive.

If we look for any of the elegant appendages of luxury and refinement in this country, we shall be grievously disappointed. Their gardens are mere tracts of inclosed ground, over-run with weeds, interspered with vines, figs, oranges, and lemons, without taste or disposition, and having perhaps one straight walk through the whole. They sometimes sow corn in the intermediate ground; but their gardens are rarely productive of esculent vegetables, and seldom or never ornamented with flowers.

As there are few or no bridges in the country, we may conclude that the Moors are not thoroughly acquainted with the mode of constructing large arches; and it is only at their sea-ports where they even use boats. These circumstances, united to the bad roads, render this part of Barbary very inconvenient and dangerous to be travelled through.

The oldest natives of the empire of Morocco are the Berberes, who still retain their ancient customs and language; and as they are not entirely subdued, they live in huts upon the mountains. The Arabs wander from one place to another with their numerous herds, and cultivate the plains and most fruitful parts of this country; and though they pay some tribute to the emperor of Morocco, they are in reality subject only to shariffs elected by themselves, and chosen from among their own people. Several tribes subsist merely by plunder, and inhabit inaccessible places, from which they descend to

commit depredations on the caravans and travellers. The Moors are the descendants of those who were expelled out of Spain; and though poor and oppressed, are extremely numerous, especially on the coasts; but as they have no ships of their own, they carry on no direct trade with foreign nations. They are reckoned avaricious, deceitful, superstitious, revengeful, jealous, and treacherous; and in these vices are surpassed only by the Jews, who come hither from Portugal and Spain. These last being the merchants, factors, and bankers of the kingdom, are exposed to excessive taxes, which they alleviate by fraudulent means. The renegadoes are a distinct class of people, not less detested by the other inhabitants than by Christians. They are employed in the meanest and most servile offices; and when distributed into the army, are placed in the foremost ranks, and if they in the least give way, they are immediately cut to pieces.

The slaves constitute another considerable and numerous class of people, and in no part of the world are they treated with more rigour and inhumanity than in Morocco: they are all the property of the king, and are never suffered to enjoy the least relaxation from their labours. Barley bread fried in oil is the only food which is allowed them; and often when they put one hand to their mouths, the other is employed in some painful and dirty work. Merciless overseers continually beat them if they seek the least repose, or seem in any degree to relax from their labour; and it is no uncommon thing to see them fall a prey to fatigue, and to expire under the blows of their unrelenting masters. During the night they are shut up in a subterra-

neous dungeon, into which they descend by a ladder of ropes, that is afterwards drawn up, and the mouth of the prison is fastened with an iron grate. The dress of these unfortunate people consists of a long coat of a coarse woollen cloth, with a hood, which serves them as cap, shirt, and breeches; and they are never allowed stockings or shoes. The women and married persons, in order that they may produce new slaves, are exempted from the severest labours, but they are neither better fed, better clothed, nor better lodged than the rest of their companions. Their masters are not very solicitous that they should renounce the christian faith, as in that case they would become free.

In Morocco there exists a distinguished race of Moors, who occupy the highest and most lucrative places, and make a great figure in the country; on account, however, of their power and opulence, they are more exposed to the avarice, cruelty, and jealousy of the sovereign, who is despotic; and often pay dearly for their distinction and pre-eminence. Lastly, upon Mount Atlas are found a kind of savages, who live on the fruits of the earth, and what they take by hunting. It is evident, therefore, that the inhabitants of this empire consist of men of all kinds, of all religions, and of all shapes and colours; for even negroes are not wanting.

The principal towns in the empire of Morocco, are Morocco, Fez, Sallee, Tetuan, Mequinez, Tangier, and Ceutu, all of which are ornamented with beautiful edifices, separated by a kind of huts in which the populace reside; insomuch that luxury

is every where accompanied by wretchedness : a mixture not unfrequent in despotic states.

The history of the world does not furnish any example of a more despotic government than that of Morocco. Religion, laws, customs, all conspire to render the monarch absolute and arbitrary, and to confirm the subject in the most abject and miserable state of slavery. The Emperor, who is called the shariff, has an unbounded power, not only over the lives and fortunes, but also over the consciences, of his subjects ; being the only person, as the successor of Mahomet, qualified to be grand interpreter of the Koran, and nominating and appointing all the judges under his government. No sooner are his laws enacted, than they are proclaimed throughout the empire, and received with an implicit and religious veneration : those who die in the execution of his commands, are supposed to be immediately admitted into paradise ; and those who receive their death from his own hands, to enjoy the greatest happiness a future state can afford. These notions being carefully inculcated, and implicitly believed, we need not wonder to find, on the one hand, cruelty, tyranny, and oppression ; and on the other, passive submission, gross ignorance, and unrepining slavery.

The Emperor Muley Yazed, who ascended the throne in 1790, was extremely ferocious, and set no bounds to his cruelties. Immediately on his accession, in revenge for some insults which he considered himself to have received from the Jews at Tetuan, he ordered a general plunder of that unhappy people there, which was carried into effect in a most destructive way, with all its usual attendant hor-

rors of insult and violation on the part of the soldiery. Two persons of that nation having particularly incurred his displeasure, he ordered a cord to be passed through the tendons of the legs of one of them, and his body to be suspended with the head downward, in which miserable state he was suffered to remain near four days without sustenance, when the Emperor ordered his head to be taken off under the plea of putting him out of his misery. The other person was driven into the Emperor's presence, having a cord round his neck, who ordered his hands to be cut off, in which state he remained three days, and was then beheaded. A black general, and the best in the army, who was another victim of his revenge, on being ordered into his presence, attempted to fly, but his horse failing him, he was seized and carried before the Emperor, who with his own hands, by one blow of his sabre, divided his head in two; the sufferer meeting his fate with amazing intrepidity, and so far from asking for his life, looked calmly in the Emperor's face as he lifted his sword to give the fatal blow.

The titles assumed by the King of Morocco are, the Most Gracious, Mighty, and Noble Emperor of Africa, King of Fez and Morocco, Tafilet, Suz, Dabra, and all the Algarbe and its territories in Africa, and Grand Shariff (that is, Vicegerent of the Great Prophet Mahomet.

As the Emperor is esteemed the sole heir of all his subjects, he seizes on the whole of their effects, and only makes such provision for their families, as he himself may think proper, and which is generally very inconsiderable. By way, however, of preserving the shadow of justice, the meanest subject in

his dominions has the power of summoning the Emperor before the mufti's tribunal (a sort of spiritual jurisdiction;) but the danger which never fails to attend the enforcement of this pretended privilege, proves a very sufficient security against his ever being troubled with any such citation.

The revenues of this prince consist in these heritages, and in the sale of employments; and frequent gratuities demanded from those who possess them. Another considerable fund arises from the tribute paid by all corsairs; besides what is given for the privilege of purchasing slaves at fifty crowns each. These slaves are sometimes sold by the monarch at a profit of one hundred per cent; but they are generally kept and employed in his own labours, which also form a branch of his revenue. He has, likewise, the tenth part of the cattle, fruits, and productions of the earth; which, however, cost him some trouble to collect, as he is obliged, for that purpose, to send out troops, who compel the Arabs, Moors, and Berberes, the inhabitants of the country, to pay the tithe of their produce. The Jews and Christians, for the privilege of trading, pay a capitation tax; and lastly, exorbitant exactions are made on Christian princes and states as tribute for restraining the corsairs, and suffering only a certain number of them to attack their vessels.

Nature, however, has wisely imposed a check on the avarice and licentiousness of this government, by affording them no good ports. Sallee, which is considerably the best, being always dry at low water; and as it is also shut up by a dangerous bar, so that it will only admit vessels of small force, their navy is of very little importance. During

peace the land forces are greatly neglected and dispersed throughout the empire; they generally amount to forty thousand men. The infantry are badly armed and ill-disciplined; the cavalry are better maintained; but the most formidable corps is that of the negroes, who compose the emperor's body-guard, and amount to four or five thousand men, without enumerating those dispersed throughout the provinces. An escort of these troops is greatly desired by every governor, as well for the sake of pleasing the emperor, as to secure his own safety. The negroes who form these detached troops are afterwards embodied into those of the emperor, and this promotion is an object of emulation and reward.

The city of Morocco is situated in a fruitful plain, abounding in grain, and all the other necessities of life, and depastured by sheep and cattle, and horses of a superior breed, called *sift Ain Toga* (the breed of *Ain Toga*.) At a distance, the city has a beautiful and romantic appearance, the adjacent country being interspersed with groves of the lofty palm, and the towering snow-topped mountains of Atlas, in the back ground, seem to cool the parched and weary traveller reposing in the plains; for although none

Can hold a fire in his hand,
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus,

yet in the sultry season, the traveller, by viewing these mountains, experiences a sensation difficult to be described. The lily of the valley, the fleur-de-lis, lupins, roses, jonquils, mignonet, jasmines, vio-

lets, the orange and citron flowers, and many others, grow here spontaneously; and in the months of March and April, the air in the morning is strongly perfumed with their grateful and delicious odours. The fruits are, oranges of the finest flavour, figs of various kinds, water and musk melons, apricots, peaches, and various kinds of grapes, pears, dates, plums, and pomegranates.

The city of Morocco was founded in the 424th year of the Hejira, 1052, by Jusuf Teshfin, of the family of Luntuna, a tribe of Arabs inhabiting the plains east of Atlas, on the way to Tafilelt; and in the time of his grandson, Aly Ben Yusif, it is said to have contained a million of inhabitants; latterly, however, it has been much depopulated, and owing to the devastations of succeeding conquerors, retains little of its ancient magnificence, except its general form; and the accumulated ruins of houses and gardens within the town, which were once the sites of habitations, indicate its decay. It is surrounded by extremely thick walls, formed of a cement of lime and sandy earth, put in cases, and beaten together with square rammers. These walls were in many places broken and decayed, so that horses might pass through them; but the breaches were repaired previous to the siege and capture of the city by Muley Yazed, in February, 1792. Some of the houses are built with much elegance and taste, but being all behind high walls, they are not visible from the street; and these outer walls are of the rudest construction, for every individual here is anxious to conceal his wealth, and to impress the public and the state with an idea that he is poor and distressed!

The imperial palace of Morocco, which faces Mount Atlas, is built of hewn stone, ornamented with marble. It is not so magnificent a building as that of Mequinez; the architecture of the principal gates is Gothic, embellished with various ornaments in the Arabesque taste; the walls of some of the rooms are of filligree-work, and others of ezzulia, or glazed tiles, similar to the Chinese tiles, which are fixed in the walls with much art, and have a cool effect. Three gardens are attached to the palace, the first and largest is called Jinen el Erdoua, the second Jinen el Afia, and the third, which is the smallest, and situated at a private door, Jinen Nile, or the Garden of the Nile, so named from its containing the fruits and plants of the Nile, Timbuctoo, and Soudan, with many others the produce of Barbary. In the two former of these gardens, the Emperor allows the foreign merchants to pitch their tents whenever they visit him, which is generally every time he goes to Morocco, and in the Jinen Nile they have their audience of business, that is, the second audience; the first being an interview of ceremony, and the third, an audience of leave to depart. The two first gardens abound with olives, oranges, grapes of various kinds, apricots, peaches, pomegranates, water melons, citrons, limes, &c.; these, however, are surpassed in richness by the Jinen Nile, the orange trees of which are small, but very fruitful, and the flowers extremely odoriferous; the roses, in particular, are unequalled, and mattresses are made of their leaves for the men of rank to recline upon. In these gardens are (Kobba) pavilions about 40 feet square, with pyramidal roofs covered with glazed tiles of various colours, and

lighted from four lofty and spacious doors, which are opened according to the position of the sun; they are painted and gilt in the Arabesque style, and ornamented with square compartments containing passages from the Koran, in a sort of Arabic shorthand, understood only by the first scholars. As the luxury and convenience of tables, chairs, and curtains are unknown in this country, the furniture of these apartments is very simple, consisting of a couple of sofas or couches, some china, and tea equipage, a clock, a few arms hung round the walls, a water-pot, and carpets to kneel upon in prayers. Here the Emperor takes coffee or tea, and transacts business with his courtiers.

The grand pavilion in the middle of the inclosure is appropriated to the women; it is a very spacious building, and fitted up in the same style of neatness and simplicity as the others.*

Near the palace is the M'shoar, or Place of Audience, an extensive quadrangle, walled in, but open to the sky, in which the Emperor gives audience to his subjects, hears their complaints, and administers justice.

In Morocco are many temples, sanctuaries, and

* The Emperor, Seedy Mohammed, who died in 1790, after reigning 33 years, showed a great predilection for the city of Morocco, and caused several regular pavilions to be built by Europeans in the midst of the palace gardens; these are of hewn stone, and finished in a plain substantial style. There are many private gardens in the city, containing the most delicious fruits, and having pavilions decorated much in the style of those above described, which form a curious contrast with the real, or apparent wretchedness of the surrounding buildings.

mosques ; of these, the most curious, is one in the middle of the city, called Jamâa Sidi Yusif, built by a prince named Muley el Mumen, on the site of one erected by Sidi Yusif, which he destroyed with a view to obliterate that prince's name ; in this however he was disappointed, for though he expended great sums in the erection of the present building, and called it after himself, for the purpose of transmitting his own name to posterity, yet the people continued to call it by the old name, which it retains to the present time.

There is another mosque, said to have been built by Muley el Monsore ; the body of it is supported by many pillars of marble, and under it is a mitfere (cistern) which holds a large quantity of water, collected in the rainy season, and used by the Mohammedans for their ablutions. The tower is square, and built like that of Seville in Spain ; the walls are four feet thick, and it has seven stories, in each of which are windows, narrow on the outside, but wide within, which renders the interior light and airy ; the ascent is not by stairs, but by a gradually winding terrace composed of lime and small stones, so firmly cemented together as to be nearly as hard as iron. On the summit of the tower is a turret in the form of a square lantern, hence called Smâa el Fannarh (the Lantern Tower,) which commands a most extensive prospect, and from whence Cape Cantin, distant about 120 miles, is distinctly visible. The roofs of the different chambers in this building, which are all quadrangular, are very ingeniously vaulted ; and indeed the whole workmanship is of the most excellent kind. Prayers are performed here every Friday in presence of the Emperor.

That part of the city adjoining this edifice is quite a heap of ruins.

There is another tower in this city, which may be mentioned, from the circumstance of its having three golden balls on its top, weighing together, it is said, 10 quintals, equal to 1205lbs. avoirdupois. Several kings, when in want of money, have attempted to take them down, but without success, as they are very firmly and artfully fixed; the superstitious people say they are fixed by magic, that (jinn) a spirit guards them from all injury, and that all those who have attempted their removal, were soon after killed. There is a tradition, that the wife of Muley el Mumen, desirous of ornamenting the temple built by her husband, caused these globes to be made of the gold melted down from the jewels which the king gave her.

At the extremity of the city, towards the Atlas, and near the imperial palace, is the department for the Jews, called el Millah, the gates of which are shut at night; these people have an Alcaid appointed over them, to whom they apply for protection against insult. Not more than two thousand Jewish families now reside here, great numbers having been induced, from various causes, to emigrate to the adjacent mountains, where they are free from oppression.

In this quarter stands the Spanish convent, which, till lately, was inhabited by two or three friars; but it is now deserted.

The Kasseria, or department for trade, is an oblong building surrounded with shops of a small size, filled with silks, cloths, linens, and other valuable articles for sale. Here the people resort to trans-

act business, hear the news, &c. much in the same manner as is done on the exchanges of European towns; and independent gentlemen, who have no occupation at court, often hire one of these shops, merely for the purpose of passing the morning here in conversation on politics, and other subjects.

The city of Morocco is supplied with water from numerous wells and springs amongst the different olive plantations, and the rich procure it from the river Tensift, which flows at a short distance from the city; this water is very salubrious, and antibilious, and is drank in cases of indigestion. There is also a subterraneous aqueduct built of brick, which goes round the town, twenty feet below the surface, and from which, at about every hundred yards, pipes of brick-work branch off, and convey the water into the different houses; over each of these branches are excavations from the surface, through which persons descend to repair any injuries below; but this aqueduct is now much neglected, and out of repair.

This city being now on the decline, little can be said of its cleanliness; the streets are mostly filled with ruins of houses which have gone to decay, and in the Millah, or Jew's quarter, heaps of dung and other filth are seen, as high as the houses. The Moors, however, from a natural desire of cleanliness, in which the Jews are scandalously deficient, pay more attention to the streets in which they reside. The houses being almost all old, they swarm with vermin, particularly bugs, which, in the summer season, are literally a plague, the walls being covered with them; at this period also, the inhabitants are much annoyed with scorpions, which

are frequently found in the beds, and other places ; to these may be added the domestic serpent, but this is rather considered as an object of veneration, than a nuisance.

The air about Morocco is generally calm ; the neighbouring mountains of Atlas defend the plain in which it stands from the scorching Shume or hot wind which blows from Tafielt and Sahara, by arresting its progress, and the snow with which they are always covered, imparts a coolness to the surrounding atmosphere ; in summer, however, the heat is intense, though the nights during that period are cool : in winter the cold is very sensibly felt ; but the climate is extremely healthy. The inhabitants, particularly the Jews, are, however, affected with ophthalmia.*

The saint and patron of Morocco is *Sidi Belab-bess* ; his mosque is like that of Mulei Edris at Fez, composed of a square saloon, covered with an octangular cupola, and carved and painted with arabesques, and on the outside covered with varnished and coloured tiles. The sepulchre of the saint is covered with many pieces of woollen and silk, the one above the other ; the chest for the alms is on its side. The floor and part of the walls are covered with carpets and other hangings.

Adjoining the saloon or mosque there are various court-yards, with arcades and rooms to lodge the poor, the maimed, the invalids, or the old ; these present a most shocking sight ; for, besides the

* See Jackson's interesting Account of the Empire of Morocco, p. 117, and Ali Bey's excellent Travels, vol. i. p. 149.

frightful spectacle of evils, there is also an entire want of those wise regulations which are observed in Europe in establishments of this kind. *Eighteen hundred wretches of both sexes* are actually provided for in this establishment by means of the alms and funds of the mosque.

This sanctuary serves as an asylum for those who are prosecuted by despotism; from this place they can negociate to obtain their pardon, and wait till they safely rejoin society, certain that this asylum will never be violated. There is, however, no positive law in favour of this immunity; but it is founded on the public opinion; and if a sultan were to infringe it by an abuse of power, he would cause a revolution. How respectable is a prejudice like this! so useful to humanity, in a country where the inhabitant, deprived of all civil protection, lives in the abyss of the most shocking despotism!

“The chief of this establishment bears the title of *El Emkaddem* or ancient, like that of Mulei Edris at Fez; he is equally respected, and is almost looked upon as a saint. The two greatest saints of all the empire of Morocco are *Sidi Ali Benhamét*, who resides at *Wazein*, and *Sidi Alarbi Benmate*, who lives at *Tedla*.

“These two saints decide almost on the fate of the whole empire, as it is supposed that they attract the blessings of heaven on the country. The departments which they inhabit have no Pasha, no Kaid or Governor of the Sultan; the inhabitants of them pay no kind of tribute, and are entirely ruled by those two saints under a kind of theocracy. The veneration which they enjoy is so great, that upon occasions where they visit the provinces, the Go-

vernors take their orders and advice. They preach submission to the Sultan, domestic peace, and the practice of virtue. They receive considerable presents and alms, and there is not a woman in the empire that would not seek an occasion to consult them when they come within reach. Upon such religious excursions, they are followed by a crowd of poor, who sing the praises of Allah and of all holy personages. A number of armed men are continually in their retinue, and ready to defend the divine cause with their weapons.

“I have already mentioned (continues Ali Bey) that this holiness is hereditary in some families: the father of Sidi Ali was a great saint; Sidi Ali is now as much venerated, and his son Sidi Bentzami begins already to become so. As the productive power is the gift of heaven, these saints enjoy it in a most distinguished manner, for Sidi Ali keeps a number of negro women, and has a great many children. Besides his lawful wives and his common concubines, Sidi Alarbi keeps eighteen young negro girls.

“I had once the honour of an interview with Sidi Ali when he came to Morocco; he quieted some scruples in my too delicate conscience. I made him a little present of about fifty pounds, and he returned me a lion's skin, on which he had been in the habit of saying his prayers for thirteen years. Besides this he gave me a quantity of sweetmeats, and a large bottle of lemon syrup, which he is used to mix with his tea. I did not fail to praise it highly. This holy man, free from all worldly interest, employed the money which I had given him, and that which he had been raising by alms, in the pur-

chase of guns and other weapons for the defenders of the faith who escorted him.

“ Sidi Ali was about fifty years old. He had a round ruddy coloured face, lively eyes, and a small beard white as snow ; he was of a low stature, full and well proportioned. His dress was always the same ; it consisted of a kind of shirt or small white woollen caftan, a little turban, and a sort of Hhaik or light woollen cloth, which covered his head, and hung down behind, and on the sides like a small cloak. He spoke a little through the nose, but with much sweetness. The eldest son of this saint follows the footsteps of his father, and notwithstanding his youth, begins to partake of his sanctity. He is only twenty-six years of age, but taller and larger than his father, and much redder in the face. The saint was accompanied by other sons, which he had by his negro women, and was on his journey placed on a litter suspended between two mules, which was long enough for him to stretch on, after the fatigue of his fervent prayers, which he says, in order to attract the blessings of Heaven on the country. I did not see Sidi Alarbi who was at Tedla, but I became acquainted with one of his nephews, who came in his name. He was so stout, red, and fat, that he could hardly breathe ; and I was told that Sidi Alarbi is still taller and larger, a proof that fasting and mortification impairs neither the health nor the vigour of the saints. Notwithstanding his size, Sidi Alarbi is said to be easy on horseback, and a clever shot. There were unfortunately some difficulties existing between him and the Sultan Muley Soliman on account of a mosque, which the latter had been building at Tedla, and which the former had chang-

ed into stables; very likely some little want of attention had been the cause of this disrespect. The Sultan, to appease the holy man, sent him a present of a thousand ducats, and the saint returned a thousand sheep to the Sultan.”*

Learning, as may well be presumed, is at its lowest ebb in this country; and even some of the emperors have been incapable of reading or writing; qualifications which are chiefly confined to the priests and doctors of the law, and rarely to be met with among the common people. There are, however, some regular schools in their cities and towns, for teaching children to read, write, and cypher; but the Koran is esteemed the perfection of all human learning, and when once the student has gone through it, he is superbly dressed, placed on horseback, and conducted through the town in triumph, by his school-fellows. The inhabitants are much addicted to astrology, and have great confidence in charms, sorcery, and amulets.

They are Mahometans of the sect of Melech, but they blend certain Pagan rites with the doctrines of the Koran: they carry provisions to the tombs of the dead, where they assemble in great numbers every Friday; and the women never fail to be present at these meetings, which form a part of their recreations. In these offices, the priests, who generally have cells in the vicinity of these repositories, join with much apparent zeal and devotion for a very inconsiderable sum. The profound veneration, however, with which the inhabitants of Mo-

* Travels of Ali Bey, vol. i. p. 151.

rocco treat the holy name of God, is well worthy the notice and imitation of Christians. The impious practice of profane swearing is wholly unknown among them; and their detestation of Christians is not a little increased by the blasphemous and indecent manner, in which the votaries of the gospel of Jesus express themselves on every trivial occasion.

They pay great veneration to persons who have performed a pilgrimage to Mecca, whom they call hadgis or saints, and allow them peculiar privileges. Even the animals on which they rode during the journey are considered as holy, exempted from all future services, and maintained till their death, when they are interred with great ceremony. If a man be convicted of having absented himself from the mosque during the period of eight days, for the first offence, he is rendered incapable of giving evidence in a court of justice; for the second, he is fined; and for the third, burned as a heretic. The women are not permitted to enter these places of worship, as they would too much distract the attention of the religious musselmen, "Let them," say they, "propagate their species; it was for that purpose they were created." They believe that all shall be saved, who die under fifteen years of age; but none above that period, unless they be of the same creed as themselves. If a Jew or a Christian enters a mosque, he is burned or impaled alive, unless he become a Mahometan. They think it no crime to break their word with infidels, as they denominate those who do not believe in the mission of the prophet, and to oppress them in every possible manner. There is scarcely a more perfidious and rapacious people on the face of the earth; and even the em-

peror himself and his ministry are remarkably fond of presents, and desirous of obtaining them. In Morocco it is a common proverb, that “vinegar received as a present, is sweeter than honey which has been purchased.” In no place is the *ramadan*, or lent, observed with more strictness. Even children are compelled to submit to this religious duty; and the crews of their corsairs, though the greatest villains in existence, will not allow the smallest infraction of this fast. The punishments inflicted by the inhabitants of Morocco are horrid; criminals are frequently sawn asunder, lengthwise or across; impaled alive; or burned to death by a slow fire.

The language of this country is the *Arabese*, or modern Arabic, which is spoken in every part of the Barbary states, and is very extensively used, being propagated in all the dominions of the grand seignior, and preserved by those who make pilgrimages to Mecca. The inhabitants of Morocco never suffer their quarrels to terminate in murder, for the commission of which their religion allows no pardon. A crowd of curious spectators never accompany a criminal to the place of execution; if they meet one on the road, they view him with looks of sorrow and compassion; nor can they comprehend for what reason the people in our cities are fond of such unpleasant sights. Games of chance are prohibited by the laws; and the gambling assemblies of Europe, which are so active and so turbulent, afford them another subject for speculation and astonishment. In paying visits, they never spend more time than is absolutely necessary for the business which is the object of them; and they

never enter into any desultory conversation respecting the affairs of their neighbours, or the concerns of the state. On these occasions, the usual entertainment consists of sherbet, coffee, and a pipe of tobacco. They drink and smoke in silence; after which they take their leave. Wine and strong liquors are prohibited under the severest penalties; and even the greatest and most powerful lords dare not infringe this law, except in the most secret manner.

There are two political maxims, to which the emperor of Morocco pays particular attention: one of these consists in permitting and protecting in his ports, the consuls and merchants of the christian nations with whom he is at war, in order to encourage and preserve the commerce of his states. The other is, to live on friendly terms with the republics of Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli, that they may form a barrier against the designs of the Ottoman Porte, and also may not interrupt each other in their piracies.

The *present Sultan of Morocco*, Muley Solyman, is a direct descendant, in the Sheriffe line, of the Arab conquerors of the country. He is a quiet, peaceable man, and if we may believe a Doctor Buffa, who resided some time at his court, his chief study and attention appear to be directed to the welfare and happiness of his people. Two things are certainly much in his favour—he has abolished Christian slavery, and he employs no Turks to oppress the people; nor does he recruit the army of blacks, amounting once to 40,000 men, which Muley Ismael imported from the southward of the Sahara, under the notion that they would execute his orders

without compunction, and by thus rendering themselves odious to his subjects, be less likely to conspire with them against him.

Negroes, however, are still to be found as governors of cities, commanders of the body-guard, eunuchs to the harem, and filling other offices of the state. The same man, who, if kidnapped at his parents' door, and brought westward, would handle the hoe, if sold in a northerly direction, wields the baton of command; and by his talents, steadiness, and bravery, is considered the pillar of the state. The same female, who, if exported across the Atlantic, should daily be lacerated by the stripes of the cow-skin, be the daily victim of the brutality of one sex, and the malignity of the other, now sits upon a throne, because chance pointed her captivity hither.

Muley Yezid, the brother and predecessor of the present Emperor, was altogether a different character, being destitute of every spark of human feeling. He plundered all the Jews in his dominions, and massacred those who did not at once produce their riches; and he is said to have burned alive six young Jewesses who ventured to plead for their fathers' lives. His first act, on coming to the throne, was to put to death the chief minister, and to cause his head and his hands to be nailed to the door of the Spanish consul's house, because his father was supposed to have favoured that nation. During his father's life he headed a negro army, and got himself proclaimed king at Mequinez: the rebellion was soon put down, and as an expiation of his crime he was sent on a pilgrimage to Mecca, with a numerous escort, and a large sum of money as a

present to the holy shrine. Of this money he contrived to rob the escort; and as a further punishment, and to keep him out of Morocco, the Emperor ordered him to perform three successive pilgrimages before he ventured to shew himself in his dominions. In these peregrinations to and from Mecca, he contrived to spend much time, to the annoyance of every body at Tripoli, which gave the writer of the "Narrative of Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli," the opportunity of witnessing many of his horrible excesses.

At Tripoli, besides the daughter of an Arab chief whom he had stolen, he had with him seven wives—five Greeks, and two black women. One of them bore him a son there, on which occasion he gave a grand entertainment. His father's treasurer, having made some difficulty about advancing the money for the feast, was made to swallow a quantity of sand, in consequence of which he died a few days afterwards. His general behaviour was so brutal that none of the European consuls would venture near him. When at Tunis, a Spanish renegado, who from the condition of a slave had been elevated to the rank of a mameluke, and set over his harem, was discovered to have seduced the affections of one of his favourite ladies. He took no notice at Tunis of the discovery he had made of the infidelity of the fair slave, or the treachery of the renegado, but brought the deluded culprits on with him, not altering his behaviour, while his heart was coolly meditating in what manner to sacrifice them, that their punishment might satiate his revenge. By the time he had arrived at Zuarra, he had decided the fate of these unfortunate wretches. This cannibal

eats not men, but feasts upon their sufferings ; he put the two offenders to death, the woman first and the man afterwards, with his own hands, in a manner the most heightened description of cruelty could not exaggerate.

This ferocious monster (who, to the relief of suffering humanity, was assassinated a few months after his accession) amused some portion of his leisure, in travelling to and fro between Tripoli and Tunis. This road presented scenery congenial to his savage nature. The following striking view of one part of it, is both spirited and picturesque.

“A part of the road from Tunis to Tripoli cannot be passed without great danger, on account of wild beasts, which not unfrequently attack passengers, in spite of the precautions taken to prevent their approach. The Bashaw’s physician, a Sicilian, performed this tremendous journey by land with his wife and two children not long since. He joined an immense caravan, that being the only method by which he could traverse the deserts, and proceeded in safety to this place. The Sicilian has often described to us the gloomy and impenetrable forest they passed, where the repeated howlings of wild beasts, excited by the scent of cattle accompanying the caravan, were increased and heightened as it drew near their horrible dens. Sometimes the caravan was constrained to remain for several days near these woods, to avoid the approaching hurricane in the desert they were about to pass through ; for by the aspect of the heavens, those who frequent the deserts can often foresee these dreadful winds many hours before they happen. No sooner were the tents pitched, and the caravan become sta-

tionary, than a peculiar noise in the forest announced the wild beasts verging to the borders of it, there to wait a favourable opportunity to rush out and seize their prey. The dreadful roaring of the lion was not heard during the day, but when the darkness came on, continued murmurs announced him, and his voice getting louder, broke like peals of thunder on the stillness of the night. The panther and the tiger were seen early in the evening, to make circuits nearer and nearer round the caravan. In the centre of it were placed the tents with the women, children, and flocks; the cattle were ranged next; and the camels, horses, and dogs last. One chain of uninterrupted fires encircling the whole, were kept continually blazing during every night. On the least failure of these fires, the lion was instantly heard to come closer to the caravan. At his roar, the sheep and lambs shook as if in an ague; the horses, without attempting to move, were instantaneously covered with a strong perspiration from the terror; the cries of the cattle were distressing; the dogs started from every part of the caravan, and assembling together in one spot, seemed endeavouring by their united howlings to frighten away the savage devourer, from whose tremendous power nothing was able to save them but a fresh blaze of fire. Twice during this journey the lion was seen to carry off his prey, each time a sheep, to the universal terror of the affrighted spectators, who in vain with fire-arms endeavoured to prevent him.”*

* Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli, p. 288.

When the father of Muley Solyman and Muley Yezid, filled the throne of Morocco, he affected to distribute justice impartially, and, wherever he happened to be, to hear all complaints and petitions in person. His usual seat of justice was the saddle, and a scarlet umbrella, held over his head, the symbol of sovereignty. It is the custom in all the Barbary states for every person, whatever his rank or condition may be, to accompany his suit with a present corresponding to the magnitude of the favour he has to ask, or the condition of the suitor; and *the hog*, we suspect, very often *overturns the pot of oil*.

The following anecdote affords a good illustration of the manner in which the Barbary sovereigns administer justice in person, in the case of the Bey of Tunis, who also makes a parade of sitting himself in the judgment-seat, and of affording access to his person to the lowest subject in his dominions. A horde of Bedouin Arabs set out for Tunis to complain of the bashaw who had been set over them. Aware of this, the bashaw got the start of them, and stated his case to the Bey, praying at the same time his acceptance of a small proof of his inviolable attachment to his highness's person. This proof was contained in a purse of ten thousand piastres. "Very well," said the Bey, "give the money to Mariano," (his treasurer.) Presently the Arabs came into the hall, imploring the Bey to remove the chief, and give them a less tyrannical governor, supporting their request with another purse of ten thousand piastres. "Well, well," said the Bey, "give the money to Mariano, and you shall have justice."

Then calling together the whole party, he thus addressed them :—" My friends, I was fully aware of the justice of your complaints, and have most severely reprimanded that man, who has sworn upon the head of our holy prophet, that he will in future behave better to you, and endeavour to merit your esteem ; take him therefore to your hearts, and be likewise good to him : and as for you, (turning to the chief) let it be known to all these people, that if the smallest complaint is again made against your administration, your head will pay the forfeiture of your promise." And they all retired, applauding the wisdom and justice of their beneficent sovereign.

After such a monster as Muley Ismael, with whom, however, George I. concluded a treaty of peace and amity, Sidi Mahomet, the late emperor, was comparatively a good sort of a man. He did not, like Muley Ismael, acquire a dexterity in taking off heads, by practising on unoffending passengers, nor exercise himself in decapitating criminals, an amusement which he generally reserved for the *sabbath day*—on the contrary, we are told, as a favourable trait in his character, that " he never put a man to death with his own hand ;" but he tried to do it once : " One of his officers, thinking himself wronged by him, expressed himself so firmly in the royal presence, that the sultan, enraged, drew his sabre, and cut him on the head with so definitive an effort, that the weapon, by the violence of it, flew out of his hand. The officer took it from the ground, wiped and presented it to his master to finish the business, which impressive instance of resigned resolution, so struck the despot, that he relented, sheathed his sword, and took him into

favour ever after." Still, it appears from M. Jardine, that the sovereign is the only legal executioner in his kingdom, and that his sentences, all sudden inspirations, are put in execution, and heads and hands chopped off, before the cause is half heard. The hand of a thief is disposed of with very little ceremony, and the hæmorrhage immediately stopped by plunging the stump into boiling pitch. This, says a recent traveller, obviates all necessity for bandages, tourniquets, or dressings; the criminal after this process is turned loose, and no further inquiry made about him.

Sidi Mahomed affected a love of literature, and a predilection for the mathematics; to show the extent of his knowledge in this science, he used to scratch on a board, with a pair of carpenter's compasses, the common mode of raising a perpendicular, which he had learned from a sea captain; and this exhibition he generally went through when any Europeans visited his court. He lived to the age of seventy-eight, but in a state of such suspicion, that he made his sons his *tasters*, and void of faith in man, confided his chamber to a guard of bloodhounds.

No person whatever, whether Moor or Christian, was admitted into the presence of the sovereign, but when accompanied with a handsome present, more or less valuable, in proportion to the favour intended to be requested. Even the Emperor's own sons were not exempted from this custom, upon paying their first visit after a previous absence. The generosity of the suitor must not even stop here; for when the audience is over, the master of the ceremonies with his servants, and the porters of all

the gates in the palace, which are rather numerous, have a claim for their perquisites, and are not to be got rid of till they obtain something. Indeed, as they receive no pay from their royal master, these perquisites were the only means they had of obtaining a subsistence.*

* An account of the fees which are usually paid by European merchants to the Emperor's attendants. Consuls and ambassadors of course pay more in proportion.

EXPENSES AT COURT.

To the Emperor—A more or less valuable present, according to the favour which is expected.

To the master of the ceremonies for public audiences, who introduces strangers to the Emperor—The same in proportion.

	Ounces.
To the man who attends the Emperor at the Machoire	- 20
To — who cleans his muskets	- 20
To — who has the care of his horses	- 20
To — who makes tea for the Emperor	- 10
To — who has the care of his lance	- 10
To — who has the care of his umbrella	- 5
To — who has the care of the Emperor's saddles	- 10
To the Emperor's coachman	- 5
To the man who has the care of the Emperor's spurs	- 5
To — who has the care of the Emperor's tents	- 10
To — who has the care of the Emperor's slippers	- 5
To — who gives the Emperor water to drink	- 5
To — who takes care of the Emperor's chair	- 5
To — who takes the flies off the Emperor's face	- 5
To — who takes care of the Emperor's sword	- 5
To — who takes care of the Emperor's watch	- 5
To the porters of the Machoire, for ten gates	- 40
To the Emperor's gardeners	- 10
To calling for each audience	- 10
Total	- 205

An ounce is a silver coin of nearly the same value as five-pence English.

An interesting account of the court of Muley Ismael, one of the most cruel Emperors, already noticed, is given by Mr. Windhus, in his ‘Journey to Mequinez,’ and may be considered as a faithful representation of the Morocco Court at the present day.

“About eight or nine o’clock in the morning, his trembling court assemble, which consists of his great officers, and alcaydes, blacks, whites, tawnies, and his favourite Jews, Memaran and Ben Hattar, all bare-footed ; and there is bowing and whispering to this and the other eunuch, to know if the Emperor has been abroad, (for if he keeps within doors there is no seeing him unless sent for ;) if he has returned in a good humour, which is well known by his very looks and motions ; and sometimes by the colour of the habit he wears, *yellow* being observed to be his *killing colour* ; from all which they calculate whether they may hope to live twenty-four hours longer.

“If he comes out, the necks are all held out, their eyes fixed on the ground, and after this manner the crouching creatures pay their homage. If he speaks, some swear by their God, what he says is true ; others at every pause he makes, cry out, God lengthen thy days, my lord ; God bless thy life ; which once occasioned an accidental jest ; for he was saying, May I be called the greatest of liars, if I have not always conceived a great esteem for the English, and making a little stop at the word *liars*, his officious court cried, Yes, by G—d, it is true, my lord.

“If he comes not out, he sometimes sends for some of them ; at other times he has the door opened,

and orders them all to pass muster, and they go one by one cringing at his door. If he only goes a little way out of the gate of his palace, they follow him on foot through the dirt; and he is a great man, and esteemed a great favourite, who advances as far as his stirrup; and if he has occasion to send a message, though never so trivial, the best of them are ready to run, without respect to age, rank, or favour, (even his favourite Hameda used to make his court this way) and return bespattered up to their eyes, at least all over their white drawers, and other garments which are white: nay, I have heard that Hamet Ben Haddu Attar (who was ambassador in England in King Charles II.'s time) was once surprised without his shoes, walking barefoot in a great deal of dirt by his horse; and without regard to his age, or the pretence he had to his favour, was sent to the farthest part of the town in that condition.

“Those days that he does not come abroad, the courtiers remain in an alley of his palace till dinner-time, when he sends them a great vessel of cuscusu, which they fall upon without ceremony, and having filled their bellies, return to their private affairs; but if he goes any distance from the town, those who have the privilege to go with him call for their horses, which are held by their servants at some distance, none ever presuming to go unless bidden. Sometimes when he goes out of town, which is not above once in two or three months, he will be attended by fifteen or twenty thousand blacks on horseback, with whom he now and then diverts himself at the lance.

“In the year 1690, before he was master of Sahra,

there came a woman from that people to him, who, hearing of her coming, went to meet her on horse-back, at the head of twenty thousand men. She told him the people of Sahra were desirous to put themselves under his protection, but that he must fight her at lance-play, if he had a mind to have her, at once the pledge of their fidelity, and the prize of his victory. She set him hard at first, but afterwards suffered herself to be overpowered, was put among the rest of his women, and troops were sent to protect the frontiers of Sahra.

“ While he is abroad, there are carried after him a stool, a kettle of water and a skin, (which is his table-cloth) this belongs to his eating; and if he is out at dinner-time, his dinner is carried after him upon the head of a negro, in a great wooden or copper vessel, which he does not take from his head until the Emperor asks for it: the manner of his eating does not differ from the ordinary Moors. His other travelling utensils are two or three guns, a sword or two, and two lances, because one broke once as he was murdering; both the swords and lances must be carried with their points upwards; these are all carried by lusty fellows; his boys carry short Brasil sticks, knotted cords for whipping, a change of clothes to shift when bloody, and a hatchet, two of which he took in a Portuguese ship, and the first time they were brought to him, killed a negro without any provocation, *to try if they were good*. Although the natives of his dominions are whites, yet they are not so much esteemed by him as the blacks and the copper-coloured, to whom he commits the guard of his person, and is so fond of their breed, that he takes care to mix them himself,

by often ordering great numbers of people before him, whom he marries without any more ceremony, than pointing to the man and woman, and saying, *Hadi yi houd Hadi*, i. e. That take that; upon which the loving pair join together, and march off as firmly noosed as if they had been married by a Pope. He always yokes his best complexioned subjects to a black help-mate; and the fair lady must take up with a negro.

“Thus he takes care to lay the foundation of his tawny nurseries, to supply his palace as he wants, into which they are admitted very young, are taught to worship and obey the successor of their Prophet, and being nursed in blood from their infancy, become the executioners and ministers of his wrath, whose terrible commands they put in execution with as much zeal and fury as if they had received them immediately from heaven. Their manner is, as soon as the word comes out of his mouth, to seize on the wretch ordered for execution, like so many lions, whom, if he is not to be executed on the spot, they almost tear to pieces before he gets to the place of execution; and by the fury of their looks, and their violent and savage manner of using him, make a scene very much resembling the picture of so many devils tormenting the damned. They are so ready to murder and destroy, even while young, that the alcaides tremble at the very sight of them, and the Emperor seems to take a great deal of pleasure, and place much of his safety in them, for they surround him almost wherever he is; they are of all ranks and degrees;—some are the sons of his chief alcaides, others picked up by chance, or taken from a large negro town

joining to Mequinez, which the Emperor has filled with families of blacks and tawnies for his use. If they are well-looking and strong, they need no other quality; some who have relations that are able, are fed, clothed, and lodged by them; others who have not, are lodged in the outskirts of the palace, in great rooms, where they pig a hundred or two together. They wear only a short and small coat without sleeves, which does not reach to their knees; their heads are shaved, and always exposed to the sun, for he affects to *breed them hard*. Most, and sometimes all of them, are employed in his buildings, where they take off their clothes, and laying them all in a heap, every one takes a basket, and removes earth, stones, or wood; when they have done, he orders them to go to this Jew, and receive so much soup; the next day they appear gay and under arms.

“ He beats them in the cruellest manner imaginable, *to try if they are hard*; sometimes you shall see forty or fifty of them all sprawling in their blood, none of them daring to rise till he leaves the place where they are lying, and if they are discountenanced and out of heart at this usage, they are of a bastard breed, and must turn out of his service. I never heard that he *killed* but three of them, one for sodomy, and two for hiding a piece of bread in the hole of a wall, which it is supposed they could not eat, for they are great reverencers of bread, and take up, as all Mahometans do, the least crumb wherever they find it, and kiss it. When they want clothes, the Emperor thinks of somebody that has too much money, either Moor or Jew, and bids them go to him, and receive each a coat or shirt.

“ They are generally about eight hundred in all, and live with him in a sort of subordination to one another: several have the names of alcaýdes, as the chief of them who wait on the Emperor’s person; others are made overseers of some task or work the Emperor has ordered them to finish; some he makes perpetual alcaýdes over a certain number of his companions, and such a one is to answer for the rest, as to their diligence, cleanly and good deportment in all particulars: and it is wonderful to see the insolence, state, and gravity of these young rogues, and how they ape the old Emperor in their way of government; for though they can only inflict blows, yet they use the haughty phrases of command, and talk of cutting throats, strangling, dragging, &c.

“ The first mark of their preferment, after they grow too big to serve the Emperor in this nature, is giving them a horse; (a horseman being in the highest esteem imaginable amongst them, and the foot the contrary. insomuch that those who command thousands of them, are not esteemed equal to the commanders of fifty horse,) then the Emperor either recommends them to some of his bashas or great alcaýdes employed against the Christians, or the Berebbers that inhabit the mountains, or keeps them near him, and then they are ready to be intrusted with all important messages, as to carry the Emperor’s letter of thanks to any officer who serves him well, or to call him cuckold, spit in his face, give him a box on the ear, strangle, or cut off his head.

“ When they have waited a considerable time, if no command or government becomes vacant, he sends

them to gather the tribute of some country, with the title of an alcajde; and if he remains by him without any employment (after performing this service) he is called the alcajde of his head, which is a sort of titular alcajde; but perhaps the Emperor suspects that he has put something more in his pocket than ordinary; then he bids him build some houses of such or such dimensions; and that he may seem something more reasonable than the Egyptian task-masters, he bids him take his lime and stone: the poor man begins with a good heart, and when he has spent all, despair forces him to go to the Emperor, and tell him he is not worth one farthing more, lest he should find his work standing still, and bury him alive in one of the walls. The Emperor picks a quarrel with him, cuts him with his sword, wounds him with his lance, or takes off his clothes, all but his drawers, gives him five hundred blows on the buttocks, puts him in prison, or loads him with two great chains, and sends him to labour at the house he was building, and orders somebody else to finish it. Now you must know the Emperor never beats a man soundly, but the man is in the high way of preferment, and it is ten to one but his Majesty passing by him in chains a few days after, and finding him in a sad pickle, *he calls him his dear friend, uncle, or brother*, and inquires how he came into that condition, as if he knew nothing of the matter, sends for a suit of his own clothes, (which is a great compliment) makes him as fine as a prince, and sends him to govern some of his great towns; for by this means he is sure he has not left him worth a groat, and will make a careful computation of what

he may get in his government, until it be his turn to be squeezed again.

“ They tell a story of a Spaniard, who was esteemed a good marksman, and bribed to shoot the Emperor; he so missed his aim, that the two balls he had charged his gun with, flew into the pommel of the Emperor’s saddle. The man was immediately seized, and when it was expected he would be put to a cruel death, the Emperor first reproached him with his base design, asking him what he had done to deserve being used so, whether he was no more beloved, and people were tired of him; then calmly sent him to the works among the rest of the Christians. The Spaniard fearing he should not come off so, and thinking it a means (if there was any) to get his liberty again, turned Moor, but continued in his Christian habit. Some years after, the Emperor going among the workmen where he was, asked him why he did not pull off his hat? he answered, he was a Moor; and the Emperor being informed who he was, ordered him to be freed immediately, asked him a thousand pardons for keeping him at work so long, dressed him from head to foot, and made him governor of some country.

“ A little more or less, this is the treatment of his grandees,—to day hugged, kissed, and preferred;—to-morrow stripped, robbed, and beaten. Many of the people about him bear the marks of his sword, lance, or short sticks; and the face and arms of the negro, who carried his umbrella when Captain Norbury was there, were scarred all over with cuts that the Emperor had given him, it is supposed, for letting the sun come upon him; for he is extremely

nice in his tyranny, and when he has done with his lance, he darts it suddenly into the air, and it must be caught before it comes to the ground, or he will kill the man appointed for that purpose.

If he chances to kill any body when he has not determined their death (as it frequently happens) he civilly begs their pardon, and says, he did not design to kill that poor man, and lays the fault on God, saying, his time was come;—the powers above would have it so.”

FEZ.

FEZ is situated on the slope of several hills which surround it on every side, except the north and north-east. It is impossible to compute exactly the number of its inhabitants, but it is supposed to contain about 100, 000 souls.

The streets are very dark, because they are not only so narrow that two men on horseback can hardly ride together, but also because the houses, which are very high, have on the first floor a projection, which intercepts much of the light. This inconvenience is increased by a sort of galleries or passages, which connect the upper parts of the houses, and by the high walls which are raised at certain distances from one side of the street to the other, as if to support the houses. This is also the custom at Tetuan and Alcassar. These walls have arched passages, which are shut at night; and the city becomes then divided into several quarters, and all communication between any one part of the town and the rest is effectually precluded.

As the town is built on inclined planes, and the ground is not paved, the streets are very dirty, especially in rainy weather. It is then impossible to walk without bringing up to the knees in mud. When it is fine, they are clean enough, because no nuisances are suffered to remain in them. But their interior aspect is as disagreeable as that of every other African town, from the number of high walls of the houses, which always seem in a state of ruin. Many are actually propped up; almost all are without windows; and the few windows which we meet with are not larger than a common sheet of paper. They are placed very high, and are generally either shut or covered with blinds, from jealousy. The doors have a shabby and mean appearance.

Behind these high walls, we sometimes find houses whose inside presents something like beauty; but the general taste of the country requires that a mansion be composed of a court yard, surrounded with a colonnade, which forms a kind of gallery, both above and below. By these galleries we reach their adjoining rooms, which usually have their light only from the door, and on this account the door is made rather large. The rooms are very long and narrow, like those of Tangier. The ceiling, made of planks, is very lofty, and in common houses without any ornament. In other houses, the ceiling, the doors of the rooms, and the arcades of the court yard, are decorated with arabesques in relievo, and painted with various colours, even covered with gold and silver. The floors of all the rooms are of bricks, and, in rich houses, of flat square Dutch tiles, or of marble of different colours, placed in such a manner as to form designs rather pleasing. The stair-cases

are very narrow, and the stairs high. The roofs of the houses resemble those of Tangier, and are covered with stamped earth, about one foot thick. This heavy load crushes the walls, without sheltering the houses from rain; and as they are made of bad lime because the people are ignorant how to work it, they soon give way. Hence few houses are durable, Almost all the walls are fissured or bulging, or leaning out of the perpendicular, which gives them an appearance of ruins and destruction.

Fez has a great number of mosques; it is said that they amount to more than two hundred. The principal one is called *El-Caroubin*, which contains above three hundred pillars; but it is of a heavy and mean construction. In its architecture it is not unlike the great mosque of Tangier, except that it has a greater number of arches, but of the same size, form, and proportion, as in the other. This building is constructed of bricks, stones, and lime, but without pillars, or any other architectural ornament. It has a great number of gates, and two handsome fountains in the court.

The number of shops is so very great as to give an appearance of a population of three or four hundred thousand inhabitants. But it is necessary to observe, that this multitude of shops forms a sort of continual fair to which the inhabitants of the country and of the mountains daily resort to purchase what they want. These people being divided into small douars, have neither shops nor work places of any kind among themselves, and are therefore obliged to supply themselves in the town.

The markets for provisions are very numerous, and may be compared to the European ones with re-

gard to the abundance of all kind of productions. There is also plenty of shops where victuals ready dressed are to be had, as in most of the large towns in Europe.

The various trades and the different articles for sale are divided into classes in separate streets, so that one sees a whole street occupied only by one profession, or one kind of trade; others are filled with shops for cloth, shops for silk, and productions brought from over sea, and from the place called *Elcaisseria*. This part is always well provided with European goods imported by sea, as also with those brought from the east by caravans and from the interior of Africa.

The *Elcaisseria*, as well as many other streets that are filled with shops, are covered with wood shaped into arabesques, with openings or windows of various forms to admit air and light. These streets are in general kept very clean; the crowd assembled there every day is as numerous as at a fair, and might be roughly compared to the Galleries of the Palais Royal at Paris. The Mahometan beauties frequent it, but always wrapt up in their mysterious Hhaiks, which, however, they are cunning enough to open now and then.

CHAP. II.

Account of the Inhabitants of Barbary.—Classes of Berebbers and Arabs, including Moors, Turks, Jews, &c.—Their peculiar Manners, Customs, Religion, &c.—Mode of Travelling in Barbary.

THE inhabitants of Barbary are principally composed of two great and distinct classes, the *Berebbers* and the *Arabs*, from the latter of whom and their descendants, occasionally mixed with Europeans and Negroes, is formed the great mass of the population generally, but improperly known by the name of Moors. Add to these the Jews and the Negroes, the Christian slaves and renegadoes, and we have all the component parts of the present population of the Barbary States. Whether this population may amount to fifty or fifteen millions, is not at all known; but the latter is probably nearest the mark. It is with them, *a sin against God*, to number the people.

The Berebbers, Braebers, or Barbars, are unquestionably the descendants either of the Carthaginian colonists, or of the people who preceded them, who, having opposed but a feeble resistance to the Romans, retired to the fastnesses of the mountains, from which they kept up a desultory warfare upon the successors of Mahomet: thus secluded, they have preserved a language totally dif-

ferent either from the Roman or the Arabic. This original people inhabit all the mountainous tracts branching from the lofty chains of Atlas, from its most eastern limits, down to the river Suz.

The Berebbers are an athletic, hardy, and enterprising people, very patient of hunger and fatigue, of regular and handsome features, but of a ferocious expression. One remarkable feature which characterizes all the Berebber tribes is a scantiness of beard, consisting of a few straggling hairs on the upper lip, and a small tuft on the chin: their whole dress consists of a woollen jacket without sleeves, leaving the arms naked and free, and a pair of trowsers. They are almost universally robbers, and commit all manner of excesses on the unhappy traveller who falls into their clutches, unrestrained by any feelings of religion or humanity. Tenacious of liberty, they are under little or no controul of the sovereign to whom they are nominally subjects, and one or other of the tribes is generally at war with the troops sent to collect the taxes, or with the Arabs of the plains. But, ferocious and faithless as they are described to be, they are no less eminently distinguished for hospitality than the Arabs. A traveller, furnished with their protection, which, however, must be purchased, may pass unmolested through every part of their country; but without such protection from some of their chiefs, he will be betrayed, plundered, and murdered without the smallest scruple.

This extraordinary race of men is divided into a great number of petty tribes or clans, distinguished by the names of their several patriarchs or founders, who are generally celebrated for some particular act

of devotion, or some extraordinary exploit; for though the sword of the successors of Mahomet failed to conquer them, they made a show of submitting to the precepts of the Koran, and to the commander of the faithful. They cultivate the ground and feed cattle; reside in mud huts, and sometimes, towards the upper parts of the mountains, in caverns like the ancient Troglodytes; but lower down they build houses or hovels of stone and timber, which are generally situated on some rising ground, or the summits of hills difficult of access, sometimes surrounded with walls, in which are loop-holes for defending their habitations with musketry: they make their own fire-arms, and are accounted excellent marksmen.

The Shilluh Berebbers are represented as implacable in their enmities and insatiable in their revenge. A Shilluh, having murdered a Shilluh in a quarrel, fled to the Arabs, to avoid the vengeance of the relations of the deceased; but not feeling himself secure even there, he performed a pilgrimage to Mecca: returning about nine years afterwards, with the sacred character of a Hadjee or saint, he immediately proposed a reconciliation with the friends of the deceased; they attempted to seize him, but the fleetness of his horse favoured his escape to Mogadore; they pursued him to this place, and notwithstanding the attempts of the governor to effect a reconciliation, the fugitive was put in prison. They then hastened to Morocco to demand justice of the Emperor, who was interested in the fate of the prisoner, and offered a pecuniary compensation for the loss of their friend, which was strenuously rejected. They returned to Mogadore

with the Emperor's order for the delivery of the prisoner into their hands; they conveyed the unhappy man without the walls of the town, where one of the party loaded his musket before the face of his victim, placed the muzzle to his breast, and shot him through the body; then drawing his dagger, stabbed him to the heart. "The calm intrepidity (says a recent traveller) with which this unfortunate Shilluh stood to meet his fate, could not be witnessed without the highest admiration; and however much we must detest the blood-thirstiness of his executioners, we must still acknowledge that there is something closely allied to nobleness of sentiment in the inflexible perseverance, with which they pursued the murderer of their friend to punishment, without being diverted from their purpose by the strong inducements of self interest."

Of the Arabs.

The Arabs, strictly speaking, compose the most numerous class of population. They are scattered over every part of Northern Africa, and are found even in the great desert to the confines of Soudan. Those of the plains who dwell in tents, may be considered as the unmixed offspring of the Saracen invaders of the country. They are a fine race of men, tall and muscular, with good features and intelligent countenances, the eye large, black, and piercing, the nose somewhat arched, the teeth regular and white as ivory, the beard full and bushy, and the hair strong, straight, and universally black, the colour of the skin in the northern parts a bright clear brunette, darkening gradually into perfect



Arab Soldier.



blackness, but still without the Negro features, as we approach the country of Soudan. They are cultivators of the earth and breeders of cattle. They live invariably in tents made of coarse stuff of camel or goat's hair, and the fibrous root of the palmeta, in families that vary in number from ten or twelve to a hundred. They all belong to their respective tribes, each having its own sheick or chief, who explains the Koran, administers justice, and settles disputes, in the same way as the patriarchs of old, and as is still the case on the plains of Asia, from which they originally came. At each encampment is a tent set apart for religious worship and the reception of strangers—the Mehman Khanu of the Belooches. Of an Arab encampment on the plains of Morocco, a recent traveller observes: “Let any one who has travelled in Ireland, call up in his mind the imagery of a vast tract of bog there in an arid sun-burnt season, and an intense summer's day, without a cloud in the horizon, with here and there remotely dispersed groups of about twenty stacks of piled turf placed irregularly together; or let them fancy themselves placed in a circle round a central one, with a great herd of cattle not remote, and hardly a human being visible, and he may thus convey the general idea of an Arab country.”

An Arab family moves from place to place, as the land becomes exhausted and the pasturage fails: as they increase, and their flocks and herds become too numerous for the food which the country affords, they separate like Abraham and Lot, one proceeding to the right and the other to the left. When they march, the women sit in a group, perhaps of three, on the back of the camel; the younger

animals, such as children, lambs, kids, and so forth, are allotted their places in the panniers on each side. The fowls, whose forecast and vigilance predict the approaching movement of the menage in due time, flock to secure themselves a settlement, wherever a projecting point of the lean frame of the quadruped affords them a promise of security. Thus, guarded by a few men on horseback, with their muskets rested across their pummels, and the rest driving their herds, they are met in their migrations.

Impatient of restraint, and fondly attached to independence, few Arabs are found in any of the towns; but they bring their produce to market, pitching their tents on the nearest spot where grass and water are met with. They are almost always at war, either with one another, or with the Berebbers, or, like these people, with the troops of their respective Moorish sovereigns, who are sent to collect the taxes; and their hostilities are carried on with the most savage brutality, sparing neither age nor sex. War may be said to be the wandering Arab's trade, and plundering his revenue; when they have neither quarrels among themselves nor their neighbours, they usually seek for hire among the deys or bashaws, as auxiliary troops. One common sentiment of hatred to Christians seems to pervade the whole community. More violent than the Moor or the Berebber, he is, however, less treacherous, and seldom conceals his antipathy. The hospitality of an Arab is proverbial, but it exerts itself no farther than the little circumference of the plain of which his encampment is the centre; beyond this he feels no compunction in plundering

or murdering the guest whom he had fed, lodged, and protected, the preceding night. Of this we have a strongly characteristic instance in the following anecdote, from an entertaining traveller.

A chief of a party of the Bey's (of Tripoli) troops, pursued by the Arabs, lost his way, and was benighted near the enemy's camp. Passing the door of a tent that was open, he stopped his horse and implored assistance, being almost overcome and exhausted with fatigue and thirst. The warlike Arab bid his enemy enter his tent with confidence, and treated him with all the hospitality and respect for which this people are so famous. The highest among them, like the heroes of old, wait on their guest. A man of rank, when visited by a stranger, quickly fetches a lamb from his flock and kills it, and his wife superintends her women in dressing it in the best manner. With some of the Arabs, the primitive custom of washing the feet is yet adopted, and this compliment is performed by the head of the family. Their supper was the best of the fattest lamb roasted, their dessert, dates and dried fruit; and the lady of the tent, to honour more particularly her husband's guest, set before him a dish of *bossees* of her own making. It was flour and water kneaded into a paste, and left on a cloth to rise while the fire was lighted; then throwing it on the embers, and turning it often, it was taken off half-baked, broke into pieces, and kneaded again with new milk, oil, and salt, made into the shape of a pudding, and garnished with *madeed*, which is] small bits of mutton dried and salted in the highest manner.

Though these two chiefs were opposed in war,

they talked with candour and friendship to each other, recounting the achievements of themselves and their ancestors, when a sudden paleness overspread the countenance of the host. He started from his seat and retired, and in a few moments afterwards sent word to his guest that his bed was prepared, and all things ready for his repose ; that he was not well himself, and could not attend to finish his repast ; that he had examined the Moor's horse, and found it too much exhausted to bear him through a hard journey the next day ; but that before sun-rise an able horse, with every accommodation, would be ready at the door of the tent, where he would meet him and expect him to depart with all expedition. The stranger, not able to account farther for the conduct of his host, retired to rest.

An Arab waked him in time to take refreshment before his departure, which was ready prepared for him ; but he saw none of the family till he perceived, on reaching the door of the tent, the master of it holding the bridle of his horse, and supporting his stirrups for him to mount, which is done among the Arabs as the last office of friendship. No sooner was the stranger mounted, than his host announced to him, that, through the whole of the enemy's camp, he had not so great an enemy to dread as himself. " Last night, (said he,) in the exploits of your ancestors, you discovered to me the murderer of my father. There lie all the habits he was slain in," (which were at that moment brought to the door of the tent,) " over which, in the presence of my family, I have many times sworn to revenge his death, and to seek the blood of his murderer from sun-rise to sun-set. The sun has not yet risen, the

sun will be no more than risen when I pursue you, after you have in safety quitted my tent, where, fortunately for you, it is against our religion to molest you, after your having sought my protection, and found a refuge there; but all my obligations cease as soon as we part, and from that moment you must consider me as one determined on your destruction, in whatever part, or at whatever distance, we may meet again. You have not mounted a horse inferior to the one that stands ready for myself; on its swiftness surpassing that of mine depends one of our lives or both." After saying this, he shook his adversary by the hand and parted from him. The Moor, profiting of the few moments he had in advance, reached the Bey's army in time to escape his pursuer, who followed him closely as near the enemy's camp as he could with safety.*

The Arab women are relieved from the drudgery of tilling the land, but they grind the corn in the primitive mill, consisting of a moveable stone, with a handle turned round on a fixed one, and weave the coarse web with the simplest of all looms—two or three pieces of stick. They also prepare the *cooscosoo*, or granulated paste, in which is smothered any kind of animal food, a dish universally in use from Arabia to the shores of the Atlantic, and not unlike the pilaw of India, the granulated flour of wheat being substituted for rice. The women also milk the cattle, look after the poultry, and are generally employed in all the domestic concerns which fall to the lot of the weaker sex in the civilized

* Tully's Narrative, p. 78.

countries of Europe. The whole family sleep in the same tent, generally on sheep skins. Each parent furnishes his child, on marriage, with a tent, a stone hand-mill, a basket, a wooden bowl, two earthen dishes, and as many camels, cows, sheep, and goats as circumstances will allow.

Some further interesting particulars of the Arabs we glean from the excellent Travels of Dr. Shaw.

Notwithstanding the skill of their ancestors in arithmetic and algebra, not one in twenty thousand appears to be at present acquainted with the first operations in these fundamental branches of the mathematics; yet the merchants are very dexterous in addition and subtraction by memory; and have also a singular method of numeration, by putting their hands into each others' sleeves, and touching each other with this or that finger, or a particular joint, each denoting a determined sum or number. Thus, without moving their lips, they conclude bargains of the greatest value.

Several tribes of the Arabs go bareheaded in all seasons, as Massanissa did of old, binding their temples only with a narrow fillet, to prevent their hair from falling into their eyes. The Moors and Turks, however, with some of the richer Arabs, wear a small cap of scarlet woollen cloth, the manufacture of the country. The turban is folded round the bottom of those caps, and, by the fashion of the folds, the different civil and military ranks are distinguished.

The Arabs wear a loose garment, called a hyke, which is usually six yards long, and five in breadth. This they wrap round them, girding it with a sash, and by day it serves for a complete dress, and by

night for a bed and covering. Above the hyke they have a cloak, or upper garment, called a Burnoose, which is woven in one piece, with a kind of hood to receive the head. It is tight about the neck, and widens below, according to the shape. This cloak is never worn except in rainy or severe weather.

Some of them have a close bodied frock, or tunic, under their hyke, with or without sleeves. When warm with exercise, this is the only vestment they retain.

Their girdles are usually of worsted, woven into a variety of figures, and made to wrap several times round their bodies. One extremity, being doubled and sewed along the edges, serves for a purse. In this girdle the Turks and Arabs fix their knives and poignards; while the writers distinguish themselves by an inkhorn, suspended in the same situation.

The Turks and Moors wear linen under their tunics; but the Arabs, in general, have only woollen vestments. However, it is customary for the bridegroom and bride of the latter nation to wear a shirt at the celebration of their nuptials, which they never pull off while it will hang together. The sleeves of those worn by the men are wide and open at the wrists, while those of the women are made of gauze and different coloured ribands interchangeably sewed together.

The Bedoweens, who live in tents, do not usually wear drawers; but the citizens of both sexes generally appear in them, especially when they go abroad, or receive visits. The virgins are distinguished from the matrons, by having this part of their dress made of needlework, striped silk, or linen; but

when the women are in their domestic privacies, they lay aside all their other vestments, and bind only a towel round their loins.

The lives of the Arabs are one continual round of indolence or amusement. When they are not called abroad by any pastime, they spend the day in loitering at home, smoking their pipes, and reposing themselves under some neighbouring shade. They have not the least relish for domestic enjoyments; and are seldom known to converse with their wives, or to fondle their children.

The Arab places his highest satisfaction in his horse, and is seldom alert but when riding full speed, or engaged in the chase. The eastern nations, in general, are very accomplished horsemen, and delight in hunting.

When the lion is the noble game they pursue, a whole district is summoned to appear. who, forming themselves into a circle, at first inclose a space three or four miles in circuit, according to the number of the people, and the nature of the ground. The pedestrians advance first, rushing into the thickets with their dogs and lances, to rouse the game, while the horsemen keep in readiness to sally on the savage.

They still proceed, contracting the circle, till at last they either close in together, or meet with their game. The accidental pastime on these occasions is sometimes extremely diverting; for, the various animals within the circle being thus driven into a heap, they seldom fail having some agreeable chases after hares, jackals, leopards, or other wild animals. It is a common observation in this country, that the moment the lion is roused, he will endeavour to

seize on the person nearest him, and suffer himself to be cut in pieces, before he will relinquish his hold.

Hawking is a principal diversion among the Arabs and the gentry of the kingdom of Tunis, where the woods afford a beautiful variety of hawks and falcons. Those who delight in fowling, instead of springing the game with dogs, shade themselves with a piece of canvass stretched upon two reeds, and painted with the figure of a leopard. Thus concealed, the fowler walks through the brakes and avenues, looking through some apertures a little below the bottom of the screen, to observe what passes before him.

It is singular, that the partridges and some other birds, on the approach of the canvass, covey together; while the woodcock, quail, and other gregarious birds, will, on seeing it, stand still with a look of astonishment. Thus the sportsman has an opportunity of coming near them; when resting the screen upon the ground, and directing the muzzle of his piece through one of the holes, he sometimes kills a whole covey at once.

The Arabs have also another method of catching partridges; for, observing that, after being sprung two or three times, they become fatigued and languid; they then run in upon them, and knock them down with sticks, called zerwatties, bound round with iron, or inlaid with pewter or brass. Many of the Arabs, indeed, are not masters of a firelock, and therefore this is one of their usual weapons.

In this country, persons of the highest character, like the ancient patriarchs and the heroes in Homer, perform the most menial offices. The greatest

prince is not ashamed to fetch a lamb from his flock, and kill it; while the princess hastens to prepare her fire and kettle to dress it.

No nation is more superstitious than the Arabs, or even the generality of the Turks. They suspend the figure of a naked hand round the necks of their children, and paint upon it their ships and houses, as a protection against an evil eye. The adults always carry about with them some paragraph of the Koran, which they place under their breast, or sew under their caps, to avert fascination and witchcraft, and to secure them from sickness and misfortunes. The efficacy of those charms are supposed to be so universal, that they also hang them round the necks of their cattle and horses.

An opinion is very widely disseminated and believed, that many diseases proceed from some offence given to the *Jenoune*, a sort of beings placed by the Mahometans between angels and devils. These are supposed to frequent shades and fountains, and to assume the form of reptiles, which, being always in their way, are liable to be molested and hurt. When any one therefore is maimed or sickly, he fancies he has injured one of these invisible agents, and immediately the women, who are skilled in these ceremonies, go on a Wednesday with frankincense and other perfumes to some neighbouring spring, and there sacrifice a cock or a hen, a ram or an ewe, according to the sex and quality of the patient, and the nature of the malady.

The Mahometans have a great veneration for their *Marabbutts*, who are generally persons of an austere and rigid life, continually employed in counting over their beads, or in meditation and

prayer. Their chaplet usually consists of ninety-nine beads, on touching each of which they either say, "God be praised,—God is great,—or God forgive me." This saintship goes by succession, and the son, provided he can put a grave face on the matter, is entitled to the same reverence and esteem with the father.

Of the Jews.

The intolerance and oppression which this singular people suffered in Spain and Portugal, drove vast multitudes of them to seek shelter among the barbarians of Africa. It has been loosely stated, that 100,000 took refuge in Morocco, and about half that number in the other Barbary states. The stock, however, had long before that event taken root in this quarter of the world, and in all probability was transplanted together with the original settlers from Phœnicia. No insult, indignity, or oppression prevents the Israelite from domiciliating himself, wherever he happens to fix his abode. He is a plant that seems to be suited for every soil, and generally thrives best where the pruning knife is most applied. Among the Moors he is made to suffer beyond what any nature but that of a Jew could bear; yet such is the ignorance of the ruling powers and their Moorish subjects, that the affairs of state could hardly be carried on without him. Most of the trades and professions are exercised by Jews; they farm the revenues; act as commissaries and custom-house officers; as secretaries and interpreters; they coin money; furnish and fabricate all the jewellery, gold and silver ornaments and

trappings for the Sultans, Beys, and Bashaws, and their respective harems ;—and in return for all this; they are oppressed by the higher ranks, and reviled and insulted by the rabble. They live chiefly in the great towns, confined to a particular quarter, in miserable mud-built hovels surrounded with filth ; but this appearance of poverty does not save their purses : they are subject to arbitrary impositions, and pay a capitation tax from a certain age. If the period of payment be disputed, a string is put round the lad's neck, and afterwards doubled in length and put into his mouth ; if then, and thus, it pass over his head, he is deemed an object of taxation ; —each Jew appears in person to pay his quota ; and this being done, a Moor touches him on the head with a switch, and says, “ Jump ;” whereupon the Jew goes his way.

Black being a hated colour among the Moors, is the only one permitted to the Jews. In walking the streets, they are subject to every kind of insult, even from children ; should the Jew raise his hand in self-defence, it is lopped off ; but if the Jew be murdered by a Mussulman, the life of the latter is not in the least danger.

A Moor having murdered a Jewish merchant, cut his body in pieces, and threw them into the shafts or ventilators of the aqueduct. The Jews by a sedulous search discovered the murderer, who was seized and thrown into prison, where he was to undergo the bastinado ; but the Jews being impatient, collected in crowds round the palace, and clamoured for justice. The sultan, thus assailed, ordered his guards to drive the infidels to their

quarter; and imposed a heavy fine on them for their audacity.

A Moor may enter a Jew's house, disturb the family at unseasonable hours, and insult the women; yet the Israelite "dares not to insinuate to him the slightest hint, that his walking out as soon as it suited his convenience, would be any way acceptable." In passing a mosque, they must pull off their slippers, and walk barefooted; the task of burying executed criminals devolves on the Jews; the wild beasts in the menagerie are fed and cleaned by them. It is frequently necessary, in some of the western ports of Morocco, to carry Europeans wishing to land, through the surf of the Atlantic; it would be degradation in a Moor to carry a Christian, and he is therefore hoisted upon the shoulders of an Israelite. The Jew can neither shift his place of residence, nor ride a horse, nor wear a sword, without special permission. Yet under all these vexatious and degrading circumstances, a Jew *renegado* is scarcely known: they are allowed the free exercise of their religion, and it would seem as if this indulgence were considered a compensation for all their sufferings. They sometimes, however, become converts to the Mahomedan faith, but meet with little encouragement, and have no respect paid to them on this account.

Though the Jew must appear in black clothing in the streets, yet in his own quarter he dresses in splendid but oddly assorted finery. Their friendly meetings are generally held on the housetop; where, on the sabbaths and holidays, the men appear in velvet, and laced like Spanish admirals, with a

greasy night-cap on the head, just barely showing that it had once been white, surmounted by a great three-cocked hat, with a broad gold lace. The ladies too are loaded with jewels, and the daughters of Israel, in this part of Africa, are said to preserve the two characteristics of female beauty—an expressive set of features, and fine dark eyes; neither of which, however, are improved by the unsparing use of paint. Their dress consists of a fine linen shirt, with loose sleeves hanging almost to the ground; over this a caftan of cloth or velvet, reaching to the hips, and open in front, to expose the neck and bosom, the edges generally embroidered with gold; over this a petticoat, generally of green cloth, also embroidered, and a broad sash of silk and gold round the waist, with the ends hanging down behind; a silk sash binds the hair with the ends flowing loose; and red slippers embroidered with gold complete the costume. The young Jewess is not permitted to go out without her face muffled up, in the manner of the Moors; but the matrons may appear in public unveiled; and though the elderly ladies are exceedingly strict, with regard to the conduct of the young ones, they are said to be by no means averse to a little gallantry on their own account.

Of the Moors.

The Moors, so called by Europeans, are a mixture of all nations who have at any time settled in North Africa; but the predominant character, physical and moral, is that of the Arab or Saracen. The name is unknown to themselves, and if you



© A. Moor.

ask a Moor what he calls himself, he will answer that he is a *Mooslim*, or believer.—His country? *Bled Mooslimin*, the land of believers. The Arabs distinguish them by the name of *Medainien*, or town's-people. Europeans, however, are in the habit of applying indiscriminately the term *Moor*, not only to the mass of population in Northern Africa, but throughout all Asia to the confines of China; it is in fact almost synonymous with Mussulman. The Moors of Africa are rigid disciples of Mahomet; they pray five times a day with the face turned toward Mecca; perform their ablutions; circumcise their male children; believe that every man's destiny is pre-ordained, and written in the book of fate; hate and despise Christians and Jews; shut up their women; and eat cuscusoo. They are generally found to be an indolent and inactive race, spending whole days in sitting cross-legged with their backs against a wall, looking with invincible taciturnity at the passengers in the streets; jealous, deceitful, and cruel, distrustful of their neighbours, and strangers to every social tie; the father fears the son—the son the father, and this lamentable want of confidence diffuses itself throughout the whole community.

The Moors are naturally of a grave and pensive disposition, fervid in professions of friendship, but very insincere in their attachments. They have no curiosity, no ambition of knowledge; an indolent habit, united to the want of mental cultivation, renders them perhaps even more callous than other unenlightened people to every delicate sensation, and they require more than ordinary excitement to render them sensible of pleasure or of pain. It is to

this circumstance, and to their religion, which teaches them to impute every thing to a blind predestination, that we may attribute that passive obedience which the Moors discover under all their misfortunes and oppressions. This languor of sentiment is, however, unaccompanied with the smallest spark of courage or fortitude. When in adversity, they manifest the most abject submission to their superiors, and in prosperity their tyranny and pride is insupportable. They frequently *smile*, but seldom are heard to laugh loud. The most infallible mark of internal tranquillity and enjoyment is, when they amuse themselves with stroking or playing with the beard. When roused by resentment, their disputes rarely proceed further than violently to abuse each other in the most opprobrious language. They never fight or box with their fists, like our peasantry, but when a quarrel proceeds to great extremities, they collar each other, and sometimes terminate a dispute by assassination.

The Moors speak very loud, and generally two or three at a time, as they are not very exact in waiting for a reply. Useless as the forms of politeness may appear in the eye of the philosopher, there are some of them which probably conduce in no trifling degree to even our intellectual excellence and improvement.

Personal cleanliness has been pointed out by modern philosophers as one of those circumstances which serve to mark and determine the civilization of a people. It was in vain that Mahomet enjoined the frequency of ablution as a religious duty to the Moors. Their dress, which should be white, is but seldom washed, and their whole appearance evinces

that they perform this branch of their religious ceremonies in but a slovenly manner. With this degree of negligence as to their persons, we may be justly surprised to find united a most scrupulous nicety in their habitations and apartments. They enter their chambers barefooted, and cannot bear the slightest degree of contamination near the place where they are seated. This delicacy again is much confined to the insides of their houses. The streets receive the whole of their rubbish and filth, and by these means the ground is so raised in most parts of the city of Morocco, that the new buildings always stand considerably higher than the old.

The persons of the Moorish men are so disguised by their dress, that it is impossible to acquire any good idea of their form or proportion. In height they are commonly above the middle size, and they are rather meagre than fat. Their complexions in general are sallow in the northern parts of the empire, but are darker in proportion to their situation towards the south. Their features have universally a great sameness. Their eyes are black and full, they have an aquiline nose, and in general a good set of teeth.

The dress of the men consists of a short linen shirt, with large and loose sleeves hanging half-way down to the ground. A pair of loose linen drawers reaching almost to the ankle; over which they wear another loose pair, made of woollen cloth. Over the shirt they wear two or three woollen cloth waistcoats of different colours, and of European manufacture; these garments are made full as loose as our great coats; they are connected before by very small buttons, and are fastened tight round the

waist by a silk belt. Over these waistcoats they throw a velvet cord, which crosses the right shoulder, and suspends on the left side a curved dagger or knife, sheathed in a brass case. This is the dress the Moors wear when in their houses; but when they go abroad, they cover it with the haick, a part of dress which has been already noticed. It is thrown over the whole of their other clothing in a careless, but easy manner, something similar to the Scotch plaid. When the weather is wet or cold, instead of the haick, the Moors substitute the sulam; which is a large hooded cloak, reaching to the heels, all of one piece, and made of blue or white woollen cloth of European manufacture, without seams, close before, and ornamented with silk fringes at the extremities on the breast, and the ends of the hood terminating with a silk tassel. The latter part of the dress is fixed on the head by means of a strong cord of camel's hair; and among the common people, it often supplies the place of a cap or turban.

Those Moors who have performed a pilgrimage to Mecca are entitled to wear a turban, and are named Ell-hatch. They are always treated with peculiar respect. Even those beasts of burden indeed which have performed this journey are held in great veneration, and upon their return are exempted from labour. The other class of Moors wear only plain red caps. The Moors in general shave their heads close, leaving on the upper part a single lock, and wear their beards long. They use no stockings or shoes, but substitute in the place of the latter yellow slippers. They are very fond of beads, of which the better order always carry a rosary in their hands; but they use them more as a matter of amusement





A Woman.

than for any religious purpose. Many also wear plain gold rings on their fingers ; and those whose circumstances will allow them to go to that expense, possess likewise watches, which, like the rosary, they consider rather as an ornament than an article from which any great utility can be derived. Very few in fact, are properly acquainted with their use.

This may serve to give some idea of the dress of the rich ; but among the poorer class of people some wear the linen drawers, shirt, and one woollen waistcoat, and over it the haick ; and others have merely a coarse woollen frock, belted round the waist, and covered with the haick.

The Moorish Women.

From the idea which is so prevalent with this people, that corpulency is the most infallible mark of beauty, the women use a grain which they name *ellhouba*, for the purpose of acquiring that degree of personal excellence at which they aspire ; this they powder and eat with their cuscusoo. They likewise take with the same intention, large quantities of paste, heated by the steam of boiling water, which they swallow in the form of boluses. It is certainly true, that the number of corpulent women in this country is very considerable, but it is probable that this circumstance arises as much from their very confined and inactive mode of life, as from any of the particular means which they employ to produce that effect.

The dress of the ladies consists of a shirt, with remarkably full and loose sleeves, hanging almost

to the ground, the neck and breast of which are left open, and their edges are neatly embroidered with gold. They wear linen drawers, and over the shirt a caftan, which is a dress something similar in form to a loose great coat without sleeves, hanging nearly to the feet, and is made either of silk and cotton or gold tissue. A sash of fine linen or cotton folded, is tied gracefully round the waist, and its extremities fall below the knees. To this sash two broad straps are annexed, and passing under each arm over the shoulders form a cross on the breast, and to that part of it which passes between the breast and shoulder of each arm is fixed a gold tortoise, carelessly suspending in front a gold chain. Over the whole dress is extended a broad silk band of the Fez manufacture, which surrounds the waist, and completes the dress, except when they go abroad, and then they invest themselves in a careless manner with the haick.

The hair is [plaited from the front of the head backwards in different folds, which hang loose behind, and at the bottom are all fixed together with twisted silk. Over their heads they wear a long piece of silk about half a yard wide, which they tie close to the head, and suffer the long ends which are edged with twisted silk, to hang behind in an easy manner nearly to the ground. The remainder of the head-dress is completed by a common silk handkerchief, which surrounds the head like a woman's close cap, differing from it only by being fixed in a full bow behind, instead of in front. At the upper part of each ear hangs a small gold ring, half open, which has at one end a cluster of precious stones, sufficient nearly to fill up the vacancy occa-

sioned by the opening of the ring. At the tip or lower part of the ear, is likewise suspended a broad and solid gold ring, which is so large that it reaches as low as the neck, and which, as well as the other, has a cluster of precious stones, in proportion to the size of the ring. The ladies wear on their fingers several small gold rings, set with diamonds or other precious stones, and on the wrists broad and solid gold bracelets, sometimes also set with precious stones. Their necks are ornamented with a great variety of bead and pearl necklaces. Below these a gold chain surrounds the neck, and suspends in front a gold ornamnet.

Like the men, the Moorish women wear no stockings, but use red slippers, curiously embroidered with gold, which they take off when they enter their rooms. Immediately above the ankle, each leg is surrounded with a large solid gold ring, which is narrow in front, but very broad behind.

The ladies paint their cheeks of a deep red, and stain their eye-lids and eye-brows with a black powder, probably of antimony. It is a branch of artificial beauty in this country, to produce a long black mark on the forehead, another on the tip of the nose, and several others on each cheek. The chin is stained of a deep red, and thence down to the throat runs a long black stripe. The inside of the hands and the nails are stained of a deep red, so deep indeed that in most lights it borders on black; and the back of the hands have several fancy marks of the same colour. The feet are painted in a similar manner with the hands.

The women when in the harem, form themselves into different circles for the purpose of conversation,

sometimes in the open courts, at others in different apartments. As they are not permitted to enter the mosques, they pray at the appointed times in their own chambers. The Moors, indeed, entertain the prejudice which is commonly attributed to the Mussulmen in general, that the female sex are altogether an inferior species of animals, merely formed to be slaves to the pleasures of men, whose salvation is consequently not of so much importance; and with this sentiment the conduct of the men towards them in every instance corresponds. The Moors likewise assign other reasons for not permitting their females to enter their places of worship: they assert, that it would be not only contrary to the custom which prevails in the country, of not allowing the sexes to meet together in any particular spot, but it might also, by creating loose and improper ideas, draw off the attention from their devotion.

The Moorish women may be divided into two classes; the black or negro women, and the white.

The first are either slaves, or have been so formerly; and from their services, or through the favour of their proprietors, have obtained their freedom. These women have all the characters, both with respect to disposition, features, and complexion, peculiar to the country from which they are brought. Many of them are in the situation of concubines, and others in that of domestics. Their male children are all brought up to serve in the army of the Emperor.—To this class may be added the mulattoes, both male and female, which are the production of a Moor and a negro woman, and are consequently very numerous in this empire; but as

they differ but little in character from the negroes, and are only distinguished from them by being indulged with their freedom, we pass them over without any further observations.

Those of the female sex who may be properly considered as natives of the country, are of a white, or rather a sallow complexion. From the very limited sphere in which they are allowed to act, and the contempt in which they are held as members of society, their characters admit of very little of that variety which distinguishes the European women. Happy, perhaps, it is for them, that the sun of knowledge has never beamed upon their gloomy prisons, since it could only serve to enlighten them to a sense of their own misery, disgrace, and servitude! Happy is that accommodating power, which Providence has vouchsafed to human kind, which adapts them to their several situations! and happy it is that the information of mankind is generally such as suits the sphere in which they are destined to act!

Educated with no other view than for the sensual purposes of their master, or husband, the chief object of the female sex of this country is to administer to his pleasure, and by the most abject submission to alleviate the rigours of that servitude to which they are doomed. When in the presence of their despot, both wives and concubines are obliged to manifest the same respect as his common slaves; and though all are not confined closely to their houses, as is customary in the Emperor's harem, yet when they do go out they are obliged to be extremely circumspect in concealing their faces,

and cautious in every part of their demeanor. Women of distinction, however, are very seldom allowed to go abroad ; it is only those of the lowest class which are usually seen in the streets, and even these are so disguised and wrapped up in their haicks, that they appear more like a bale of cloth put in motion, than a human form.

If they happen to meet a European in the country, at a time when no Moor is in sight, they seldom miss the opportunity of displaying their features, by throwing the haick on one side, and even to laugh and converse with him, though always with the utmost risk, as the eye of jealousy, it is well known, never slumbers.

If an European or a Jew should be caught in a clandestine connection with a Moorish woman, he is obliged to become a convert to the Mahometan faith, or his life would be forfeited ; and the woman is punished either by burning or drowning. A man, however, must have uncommon address, and no small share of caution, to carry on an intrigue of that kind, though on the part of the women of this country he will seldom want for encouragement.

It must notwithstanding be allowed, that the means which the Moors employ for the prevention of intrigues very often tend to the encouragement of them. By dressing themselves in the female habit, men may very easily pass the streets unobserved, as they may rest assured they will not be addressed or even looked at by the Moors ; and if they contrive to call at the house when the master is from home, they need be under no apprehension of being de-

tected when he returns. If he sees a strange woman's slippers at the door of his harem, he concludes it is a *female neighbour*, and never approaches the room till the slippers are removed.

The dress of the opulent females among the Moors is similar to that of the Emperor's ladies, differing only in the value of the materials. Those of the inferior class wear linen drawers, and over them a coarse woollen frock, tied round the waist with a band. They plait the hair in two folds, from the upper part of the head all the way down behind, wearing over it a common handkerchief tied close to the head, and when they go out they wear the haick.

A very curious account of a visit to the *prince's harem*, is given by Dr. Lempriere in his excellent account of Morocco. "Upon receiving (says he) the prince's orders to attend his ladies, one of his friends was immediately dispatched with me to the gate of the harem, with directions to the alcaide* of the eunuchs, to admit myself and interpreter whenever I thought it necessary.

"The eunuchs who have the entire charge of the women, and who in fact live always among them, are the children of the negro slaves. They are generally either very short and fat, or else tall, deformed, and lame. Their voices have that particular tone which is observable in youths who are just arriving at manhood; and their persons altogether afford a disgusting image of weakness and effeminacy. From the trust reposed in them by their

* An officer, in the general idea of the word.

masters, and the consequence which it gives them, the eunuchs exceed in insolence and pride every other class of people in the country. They displayed indeed so much of it towards me, that I was obliged, in my own defence, to complain of them once or twice, and to have them punished.

“Attended by one of these people, after passing the gate of the harem, which is always locked, and under the care of a guard of eunuchs, we entered a narrow and dark passage, which soon brought us to the court, into which the women’s chambers open. We here saw numbers of both black and white women and children; some concubines, some slaves, and others hired domestics.

“Upon their observing the unusual figure of an European, the whole multitude in a body surrounded me, and expressed the utmost astonishment at my dress and appearance. Some stood motionless, with their hands lifted up, their eyes fixed, and their mouths open, in the usual attitude of wonder and surprise. Some burst into immoderate fits of laughter; while others again came up, and with uncommon attention, eyed me from head to foot. The parts of my dress which seemed most to attract their notice were my buckles, buttons, and stockings; for neither men nor women in this country wear any thing of the kind. With respect to the club of my hair, they seemed utterly at a loss in what view to consider it; but the powder which I wore they conceived to be employed for the purpose of destroying vermin. Most of the children, when they saw me, ran away in the most perfect consternation; and on the whole I appeared as singular an animal, and I dare say had the honour of

exciting as much curiosity and attention, as a lion or man-tiger, just imported from abroad, and introduced into a country town in England on a market-day. Every time I visited the harem I was surrounded and laughed at by this curious mob, who, on my entering the gate, followed me close to the very chamber to which I was proceeding, and on my return universally escorted me out.

“The greatest part of the women were uncommonly fat and unwieldy; had black and full eyes, round faces, with small noses. They were of different complexions; some very fair, some sallow, and others again perfect negroes.

“One of my new patients being ready to receive me, I was desired to walk into her room; where, to my great surprise, I saw nothing but a curtain drawn quite across the apartment, similar to that of a theatre which separates the stage from the audience. A female domestic brought a very low stool, placed it near the curtain, and told me I was to sit down there, and feel her mistress’s pulse.

“The lady, who had by this time summoned up courage to speak, introduced her hand from the bottom of the curtain, and desired me to inform her of all her complaints, which she conceived I might perfectly perceive by merely feeling the pulse. It was in vain to ask her where her pain was seated, whether in her stomach, head, or back; the only answer I could procure, was a request to feel the pulse of the other hand, and then point out the seat of the disease, and the nature of the pain.

“Having neither satisfied my curiosity by exhibiting her face, nor made me acquainted with the nature of her complaint, I was under the necessity

of informing her in positive terms, that to understand the disease it was absolutely necessary to see the tongue, as well as to feel the pulse; and that without it I could do nothing for her. My eloquence, or rather that of my Jewish interpreter, was, however, for a long time exerted in vain; and I am persuaded she would have dismissed me without any further inquiry, had not her invention supplied her with a happy expedient to remove her embarrassment. She contrived at last to cut a hole through the curtain, through which she extruded her tongue, and thus complied with my injunction as far as it was necessary in a medical view, but most effectually disappointed my curiosity."

The houses in most of the towns in Barbary appear at a little distance, like vaulted tombs in a churchyard; and the entrance into the best of them has but a mean appearance. They are of a square form, their apartments are seldom built higher than the ground floor, and their outer walls are universally white-washed, which in the streets, and particularly when the sun is out, produce a very unpleasant sensation to the eyes. All these circumstances, united to the want of windows, the filthiness and irregularity of the streets, the dirty appearance and rude behaviour of the inhabitants, and their total ignorance of every art and science, leaves at first sight an unfavourable impression on the mind of the traveller, which perhaps while he continues in the country he can never do away. As the roofs of the houses are all terraces, they serve as *verandas*, where the Moorish women commonly sit for the benefit of the air, and in some

places it is possible to pass nearly over the whole town, without having occasion to descend into the street.

As the best apartments are all backwards, a stable, or perhaps something worse, is the place to which visitors are first introduced. Upon entering the house the stranger is either detained in this place; or in the street, till all the women are dispatched out of the way; he is then allowed to enter a square court, into which four narrow and long rooms open, by means of large folding doors, which, as they have no windows, serve likewise to introduce light into the apartments. The court has generally in its centre a fountain, and if it be the house of a Moor of property, it is floored with blue and white chequered tiling. The doors are usually painted of various colours in chequered form, and the upper parts of them are frequently ornamented with very curious carved work. None of the chambers have fire-places, and their victuals are always dressed in the court-yard, in an earthen stove, heated with charcoal.

When the visitor enters the room where he is received by the master of the house, he finds him sitting cross-legged and barefooted on a mattress, covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor, or else on a common mat. This, with a narrow piece of carpeting, is in general the only furniture he will meet with in Moorish houses; though they are not destitute of other ornaments. In some, for instance, he will find the walls decorated with looking-glasses of different sizes. In others, watches and clocks in glass cases; and in some the apartments are hung with the skins of lions or

tigers, or adorned with a display of muskets and sabres. In the houses of those who live in the very first style, an European mahogany bedstead, with one or two mattresses, covered with fine white linen, is sometimes placed at each end of the room. These however are only considered as ornaments; as the Moors always sleep on a mattress, or a mat placed upon the floor, and covered only with their haick, or perhaps a quilt.

As the law of Mahomet strictly proscribes the use of pictures of every description, this delightful species of ornament finds no place in the houses of the Moors. There was, however, it is said, a Moor at Morocco, who used to exhibit a raree-show to his friends and acquaintance, all of whom appeared to express infinite surprise and admiration at his exhibition. This, indeed, was not the only instance in which he was guilty of violating the Mahometan law: he scrupled not to drink very freely his bottle of port or claret, which, as it was manufactured by Christians, was from that circumstance an aggravated offence. "He employed me, (says Lempriere) to procure for him from Mogadore three dozen of claret, which appeared to administer to him infinite comfort and satisfaction. This affection indeed for the productions of Europe, made him perhaps more than usually favourable to its natives. However this may be, he was the only man who showed me much attention during my residence at Morocco. He repeatedly took me to his house, and made me little presents of various kinds, which at that place proved very acceptable."

When a Moor receives his guests he never rises from his seat, but shakes hands, inquires after their

health, and desires them to sit down, either on a carpet or a cushion placed on the floor for that purpose. Whatever be the time of day, tea is then brought in on a tea-board with short feet; this is the highest compliment that can be offered by a Moor; for tea is a very expensive and scarce article in Barbary, and is only drank by the rich and luxurious. Their manner of preparing it is by putting some green tea, a small quantity of tansy, the same portion of mint, and a large portion of sugar (for the Moors drink their tea very sweet) into the tea-pot at the same time, and filling it up with boiling water. When these articles are infused a proper time, the fluid is then poured into remarkably small cups of the best India china, the smaller the more genteel, without any milk, and accompanied with some cakes or sweatmeats; it is then handed round to the company. From the great esteem in which this beverage is held by the Moors, it is generally drank by very small and slow sips, that its flavour may be the longer enjoyed; and as they usually drink a considerable quantity whenever it is introduced, this entertainment is seldom finished in less than two hours.

The other luxuries of the Moors are snuff, of which they are uncommonly fond, and smoking tobacco, for which the greater part use wooden pipes about four feet in length, with an earthen bowl; but the princes or emperor generally have the bowls made of solid gold. Instead of the indulgence of opium, which, from the heavy duty imposed upon that article by the Emperor, is too expensive to be used by the Moors, they substitute the achicha, a species of flax. This they powder

and infuse in water in small quantities. The Moors assert, that it produces agreeable ideas, but own that when it is taken to excess it most powerfully intoxicates. In order to produce this effect, they likewise mix with their tobacco an herb, named in this country khaf, which by smoking occasions all the inebriating effects of the achicha. The use of spirits as well as wine is strictly forbidden by the Koran; there are, however, very few among the Moors who do not joyfully embrace every private opportunity of drinking both to excess.

With respect to the hours for eating, the people of this country are remarkably regular. Very soon after day-break they take their breakfast, which is generally a composition of flour and water boiled thin, together with an herb which gives it a yellow tinge. The male part of the family eat in one apartment, and the female in another. The children are not permitted to eat with their parents, but take their meals afterwards with the servants; indeed in most other respects they are treated exactly as servants or slaves by their parents. The mess is put into an earthen bowl, and brought in upon a round wooden tray; it is placed in the centre of the guests, who sit cross legged, either on a mat or on the floor, and who form a circle for the purpose. Having previously washed themselves, a ceremony always performed before and after meals, each person with his spoon attacks vigorously the bowl, while they diversify the entertainment by eating with it fruit or bread. At twelve o'clock they dine, performing the same ceremonies as at breakfast. For dinner, from the Emperor down to the peasant, their dish is universally *cuscosoo*, a sort of thick paste. But

as neither chairs, tables, knives nor forks, are made use of in this country, the dish is brought in upon a round tray and placed, on the floor, round which the family sit as at breakfast, and with their fingers commit a violent assault on its contents; they are at the same time, however, attended by a slave or domestic, who presents them with water and a towel occasionally to wash their hands. From the want of the simple and convenient invention of knives and forks, it is not uncommon in this country to see three or four people pulling to pieces the same piece of meat, and afterwards with their fingers stirring up the paste or cuscusoo, of which they often take a whole handful at once into their mouth. At sun-set they sup upon the same dish, and indeed supper is their principal meal.

A fuller account of their manner of eating, and of some of their principal dishes, we copy from a plain, but faithful narrative.

“ Their low round-table (he observes) being placed, not above three or four inches from the floor, they all sit down cross-legged, as tailors do when they are at work on their shopboard; having a napkin that reaches all round to wipe with. The victuals being put on the table, every one says his grace, (more it is to be feared, than thousands of such as call themselves Christians do) and that is, *Be isme allah*; i. e. in the name of God. The same expression they use in all things they set about, to the shame of those who pretend to more, and yet have not God in all their thoughts, as the Psalmist speaks of some wicked men. The meat is always seasoned before it comes to the table, so that they make use

of no salt there. Neither are knives or forks of any use then, because the flesh which they boil is always cut into pieces while raw, (and so is what they roast) and after that, they parboil it, then take it out with the liquor, and put in the flesh again, with roots or cabbage, or what the season affords, cut small, together with a little pepper, herbs and onions; after which they pour in a small quantity of the liquor again, and stew it so long, that it is no very hard matter to shake the flesh off the bones; this they call by the name of *terbeea*. The sauce for it is an egg beaten with the juice of a lemon.

“ With the remainder of the before-mentioned liquor they make a dish which they call *pillou*. They take two measures of this, and one of rice, or burgoe, i. e. wheat boiled, dried, and ground not very small. When the liquor boils, the rice being washed, or the burgoe unwashed, is put into the pot; in a little time the liquor is soaked up, and the pot taken off the fire. Then they melt some butter to an oil, and pour it into the pot, and keep it close covered; after which they take out the rice of *burgoe* with a spoon into a dish, and form it in the shape of a sugar-loaf, shaking pepper over it. The butter should be pretty much seen in the dish around the rice.

“ Another dish they call *dolmah*, of which there are divers sorts, as *sueoane dolmah*, i. e. onion *dolmah*; for *dolmah* signifies to fill. They take large onions, skin them, and cut both ends; then cut them half way in by the side, and take out several skins or parts, filling them with their meat, which

is minced very small, putting a little rice, pepper, and salt mixed together. The bones they put in the bottom of the pot, next stew the onions so filled, then a little water not covering the onions, and so let it stew. They also wrap such minced flesh in vine leaves, and then it is called *yoprocks dolmah*; the name of this leaf is *yoprocks*. Sometimes it is done with cabbage leaves, which they call *lavikna dolmah*. The sauce for this is only lemon.

“As for roast meat, they cut the flesh into small pieces, stick three or four of them upon an iron skewer, and so set them before the fire; at the cook's shops, the pieces are no bigger than the bowl of a pipe. This is called *cobbob*.

“Sometimes when they have minced the meat as above without rice, they make it into little cakes, and fry them in a pan with butter; to which they give the name of *keufta*. The sauce is onions sliced thin, and fried in vinegar, and so poured upon it.

“What they call *mackaroon* is some paste made only with flour and water, of which they take a bit as big as a bean, and put it on the middle of a wire, rolling it between their hand till it be two or three inches long, and no bigger than the small end of a tobacco-pipe; then boil it in water with three or four whole onions, and when in the dish, mix it with grated cheese, and pour butter on it as above. They usually eat quick, and having done, every one returns thanks, saying, *el ham do lillali*; i. e. thanks be to God.

“The table being removed, (before they rise) a slave or servant, who stands attending on them with a cup of water to give them drink, steps into the middle with a bason, or copper-pot of water, (some-

what like a coffee-pot) and a little soap, and lets the water run upon their hands one after another, in order as they sit; and they also wash their mouths after eating.

“As for their drink, it is well known that wine is forbidden by the Mahometan law, (and so is swine’s flesh,) and beer and cyder they are altogether strangers to; so that their common drink is *water*; except at some certain times, they make a sherbet with water and sugar. They are great coffee drinkers, but coffee is not to quench thirst. However, though wine be forbidden, there is no punishment for those who offend in this respect; and yet none used to drink it, but the rascality. For a person of figure and reputation, will by no means drink wine, because it is contrary to his principles, and so is a scandal to his reputation. And as for such as take to drink it, they generally do it so immoderately, that they hardly leave off till they are drunk, and then they are extremely abusive and quarrelsome, sometimes even to murder.”

Such is the general mode of living among the principal people in towns. There are considerable multitudes, however, who do not fare so well, but are obliged to content themselves with a little bread and fruit instead of animal food, and to sleep in the open streets. This kind of existence seems ill calculated to endure even in an inactive state; far more severe must it therefore be to those who exercise the laborious employment of couriers in this country, who travel on foot a journey of three or four hundred miles, at the rate of between thirty and forty miles a day, without taking any other nourishment than a little bread, a few figs, and some

water, and who have no better shelter at night than a tree. It is wonderful with what alacrity and perseverance these people perform the most fatiguing journeys at all seasons of the year. There is a regular company of them in every town, who are ready to be dispatched at a moment's warning to any part of the country their employers may have occasion to send them. They constitute in this empire the only mode of conveyance for all public and private dispatches; and as they are well known in the place to which they belong, they are very punctual in delivering every thing that is put into their hands. From their steady pace in travelling, at the rate of about four miles an hour, and from their being able to pass over parts which from the mountainous state of the country, and from the want of good roads, persons on horseback would find inaccessible, they are indeed by far the most expeditious messengers that could be employed. As a proof of the amazing exertions of which they are capable, I need only mention, that there have been repeated instances of a courier proceeding from Morocco to Tangier, which is a journey of about three hundred and thirty miles, in six days.

As none but the very vulgar go on foot in this country; for the purpose of visiting, mules are considered as more genteel than horses; and the greatest pride of a Moor is to have such as walk remarkably fast, and keep his footmen, of which the number is proportionable to the rank and consequence of the master, on a continued run.

As the Moors are not fond of admitting men into their houses, except upon particular occasions, if the weather is fine they place a mat, and sometimes

a carpet, on the ground before the door, seat themselves upon it cross-legged, and receive their friends, who form a circle, sitting in the same manner, with their attendants on the outside of the group. Upon these occasions they either drink tea, or smoke and converse. The streets are sometimes crowded with parties of this kind; some engaged in playing at an inferior kind of chess or drafts, at which they are very expert; but the majority in conversation. The people of this country, indeed, are so decidedly averse to standing up, or walking about, that if only two or three people meet, they squat themselves down in the first clean place they can find, if the conversation is to hold but for a few minutes.

The following curious information respecting the domestic manners of the Moors is highly valuable, as it is from the Narrative of an eye-witness,—an Englishman who was fifteen years a prisoner in Barbary, and who spent the greater part of this time at Algiers.

“ If there be two, three, or four families in one house, as many times there happen to be, yet they may live there many years, and never see one another’s wife. But perhaps you will say, that it is odds but that the women may at some time or other, be accidentally seen by the men, coming in or going out: but in answer to that, you must know that the men are seldom within doors in the day-time, (especially those of the poorer sort, who often thus live many families under one roof,) and when they chance to come home to their houses, before they enter at the door, they usually speak aloud these words, viz. *ammiltreak*, i. e. make way! At the hearing of which, every woman scuds into her

house from the court, (for every house hath a court, in the middle four square, and on every square there is a room; and above there are three galleries or balconies all round, from whence you may look down into the court.) The tops of their houses are all flat, beaten floors made with lime and sand. It is very seldom that any men are to be seen on the tops of their houses; it is looked upon as very rude to be there: the reason of which is, because as their houses are, generally speaking, of an equal height, it would be easy to go from the top of one to another, and so be able to look into the neighbouring courts, and by this means, see other men's wives: though some men of note have low walls on the tops of their houses, to prevent any attempts of this nature.

“As for the men, they never visit one another at their houses; nay, it is not esteemed civil or decent for one married man to inquire for another at his house. Nay, what is more, it is thought a rude thing to ask of any person, Sir, where is your house? or, Where do you live? I myself once spoke innocently to one when in Egypt, saying, Whereabouts is your house in Algiers? And he took me up somewhat roughly, and said, Why do you ask that question? My shop is in such a place of the town.

“The doors of their houses are always kept fast latched, for the men have no business at each other's houses; only the bakers' boys go about the street, making a loud noise, to take people's bread, and carry it to the bake-house. Upon this, the women within come and knock at the inside of the door, which the boy hearing, makes towards the house.

The women open the door a very little way, and hiding their faces, deliver the cakes to him; which, when baked, he brings to the door again, and the women receive them in the same manner as they gave them out. If there be a negro-woman slave in the house, she goes to the door; but if they are poor people, the woman of the house must go herself.

“The water-carriers also (who are for the most part Moors) go about with a large copper-pot on their shoulders full of water, crying, *hab elma*, i. e. will you have any water? Those who want, knock within the door as above; way being made, the Moor goes in, empties his pot, receives his money, and goes away. Many get their living only by this; though it is commonly thought some of these water-carriers are frequently employed by the women to procure gallants for them, especially when their husbands are out of town.

“As the women always wear veils, a man’s own wife may pass by him in the street, and he not have the least knowledge of her. They will not stop to speak with men, or even their own husbands in the street. They always go bare-footed within doors, except it be wet weather, and then they wear their thin slippers, which some have of silver, but in their chambers they always go bare-foot. They keep their houses very clean, and wash them so often and well, that they may go out of their chambers into the court bare-foot without dirtying their feet: their shoes they generally leave in the entry or passage.

“The Algerines never take either apprentices, or hired servants, into their houses, because they are a people given so much to jealousy, (and truly

they have reason enough for it on both sides) that there would be but little love or content under their roof, if they should. And therefore such as have occasion for servants, buy slaves, and bring them up to their household work, as our servant-maids are here in England; who, as soon as they have done up all their work in the house, are usually allowed the liberty to go abroad, and visit their countrymen, commonly bearing each a child with them; and if the child be a boy it rides on the slave's shoulders.

“Slaves in such places always strive to get into the children's affections; which, if they can, fare much the better for their sakes. For oftentimes faults are connived at, and many blows forborne upon the child's account, lest it should grieve too much to see the dear slave punished.

“The Turks are but seldom jealous of their slaves, though it is thought oftentimes they are made cuckolds by them, and that by the solicitations of the patroonas, or mistresses themselves; for it would be dangerous presumption for the slave to dare to make the least item that way without encouragement from his mistress. My second patroon's wife, was, I am persuaded, very unfaithful to him: I have reason to think she was intimate with a neighbour in the town. Many a temptation did she lay in my way, though not by word of mouth, yet by signals; but I made myself ignorant of her meaning, and so (I bless God) escaped the snare.

“I have heard of some who have suffered much, like Joseph, for refusing to comply with the lascivious desires of their mistresses, who, like Potiphar's wife, have forged quite a contrary story to their

husbands, which has occasioned the poor slave to be severely beaten, and afterwards sold.

“In Algiers, as well as in other places, on Friday, their sabbath, in the afternoon they generally take their recreation. And amongst their several sports and diversions, they have a *comical sort of wrestling*, which is performed about a quarter of a mile without the gate, called *bab el wait*, the western gate. There is a plain just by the sea-side, where, when the people are gathered together, they make a ring, all sitting on the ground expecting the combatants. Anon, there comes one boldly in, and strips all to his drawers. Having done this, he turns his back to the ring, and his face towards his clothes on the ground. He then pitches on his right knee, and throws abroad his arms three times, clapping his hands together as often, just above the ground; which having done, he puts the back of his hand to the ground, and then kisses his fingers, and puts them to his forehead; then makes two or three good springs into the middle of the ring, and there he stands with his left hand to his left ear, and his right hand to his left elbow; in this posture the challenger stands, not looking about, till some one comes into the ring to take him up; and he that comes to take him up does the very same postures, and then stands by the side of him, in the manner aforesaid. Then the trier of the play comes behind the *pilewans*, (for so the wrestlers are termed by them) and covers their naked backs and heads, and makes a short harangue to the spectators.

“After this the *pilewans* face each other, and then both at once slap their hands on their thighs, then clap them together, and then lift them up as high

as their shoulders, and cause the palms of their hands to meet, and with the same, dash their heads one against another three times, so hard, that many times the blood runs down. This being done, they walk off from one another, and traverse their ground, eyeing each other like two game cocks. If either of them finds his hands moist, he rubs them on the ground, for the better hold fast: and they will make an offer of closing twice or thrice before they do. They will come as often within five or six yards one of the other, and clap their hands to each other, and then put forward the left leg, bowing their body, and leaning with the left elbow on the left knee, for a little while, looking one at the other just like two fighting cocks. Then they walk a turn again; then at it they go; and as they are naked to the middle, so there is but little hold-fast, there is much ado before one hath a fair cast on his back; they having none of our *Devonshire* or *Cornish* skill. He that throws the other goes round the ring, taking money of many that give it him, which is but a small matter, it may be, a farthing, a halfpenny, or a penny of a person, which is much. Having gone the round, he goes to the tryer, and delivers him the money so collected, who in a short time returns it again to the conqueror, and makes a short speech of thanks. While this is doing two others come into the ring to wrestle.

“But at their *byrams*, or feasts, those which are the most famous *pilewans*, come in to show their parts, before the dey, eight or ten together. These anoint themselves all over with oil, having on their bodies but a pair of leathern drawers, which are well oiled too; they stand in the street near *bab el wait* (the

above gate) without which are all their sports held, spreading out their arms, as if they would oil people's fine clothes, unless they give them some money; which many do to carry on the joke. They are the choice of all the stout wrestlers, and wrestle before the dey, who sits on a carpet spread on the ground, looking on; and when the sport is over, he gives two or three dollars to each. After which the dey with the bashaw mount their horses, and several *spahys* ride one after another, throwing sticks made like lances, at each other; and the dey rides after one or other of them, who is his favourite, and throws his wooden lance at him; and if he happens to hit him, the *spahy* comes off his horse to the dey, who gives him money. After all which diversions, they ride to the place where the dey has a tent pitched, and there they spend the afternoon in eating and drinking coffee, and pleasant talk, but no wine. The dey usually appears in no great splendour at Algiers; for I have seen him oftentimes ride into the town from his garden in a morning on a mule, attended only by a slave on another."

The pleasures of the *bath* are highly appreciated by the Moors and Turks. Every large town has its public baths, which are generally annexed to some Caravansera or coffee-house; here the Moor gets himself well rubbed down, and his joints stretched or shampooed; here he sips his coffee, and here he is amused with wild tales of genii or fairies.*

* Of the *hammams*, or baths, the following is a very accurate description:—"They have many hammams, or wash-houses, to bathe themselves in; which they go into almost naked, only with a thin white wrapper on. There are several, whose business it is to give attend-

The manner of salutation among the Moors is, when two equals meet, by a quick motion they shake hands, and afterwards kiss each other's hand. When an inferior meets a superior, such as an officer of rank, a judge, or a governor, he kisses that part of his haick which covers the arm, and sometimes, as a higher mark of respect, he will kiss

ance, and they are very ready to do it, as soon as any person comes. When any go in, they leave their clothes in an outer room, put on a pair of clogs, or pattens, and so walk with their guides into the hot places; where, after they have been for awhile, they grow into a great sweat, and having continued in it for some time, they have their arm-pits shaved by their guide, and then retire into a private room, where they have their pudenda also shaved, accounting it very beastly to have it otherwise: after which, they lie down on the smooth pavement, and one of the guides or tenders, being ready with a glove made of coarse stuff, or camblet, without fingers, and stuffed with something for that purpose, rubs their body all over, and cleanses it from filth: this they are very dexterous at, for as they are rubbing most parts of the body, they will bring the rolls of filth, (like a worm, it may be, two inches in length,) under the glove upon the person's arm, that he may see in what need he stood of cleansing. And I profess, I have often wondered to see so much filth come off from a single person, considering how frequently they use thus to bathe, or wash.

“ Having washed all over, and at last with soap, the tender for awhile leaves every person to himself, to throw water on his body; and this they may have from two cocks, one hot, the other cold, which run into an earthen pan, or else a great bason of marble; so that they may make the water of what temper of heat, or cold, they please: having thus done, and taken *abdes*, the tender waits with wrappers, one for the upper, and the other for the lower parts of the body; which having put on, the bathed person comes out into a cooler room, and there lies down awhile till his sweating is well over, and then puts on his clothes again; and at his going out, the tender sprinkles rose-water on his face. And all these refreshing accommodations may be had for three or four pence.”

his feet. But the compliment due to the Emperor, or any of the princes of the blood, is to take off the cap or turban, and to prostrate the head to the ground. When two particular friends or relations meet, they anxiously embrace and kiss each other's faces and beards for a few minutes, make a number of inquiries about the health of each party, as well as that of their families, but seldom allow time for a reply.

The common topics for conversation among these people, are the occurrences of the place, religion, their women, and their horses. As curiosity is a quality which naturally attaches to all indolent people, it may easily be conjectured, that the Moors are not deficient in this respect. It is incredible with what avidity they lay hold of any trifling circumstance which may occur in the neighbourhood; what pleasure and what pride they seem to take in communicating it; nor are they deficient in the arts of magnifying or adorning the tale with every addition which may serve to render it more palatable, or give it a greater appearance of plausibility.

Religion is also a favourite topic; but this subject is confined principally to those societies which are frequented by their talbs, or men of letters. As these gentlemen, however, are not a little proud of their acquirements in reading and writing, they do not fail to embrace every opportunity of manifesting their superiority over those who are not so happy as to be distinguished by those accomplishments.

Decency of manners and delicacy in conversation are among the most certain marks of refinement and civilization, and the contrary vices are equally universal characteristics of ignorance and barbarism.

The conversation of the Moors concerning their women is of the most trifling and disgusting description, and consists of absurd and vulgar observations, equally repugnant to decency and common sense.

The subject, however, on which, like our young men of fashion in England, they appear most calculated to shine, is their horses. It would indeed be truly disgraceful not to be accomplished upon this topic, since it appears to occupy, both day and night, by far the greatest portion of their attention. I have formerly intimated, that these animals are seldom kept in stables in Morocco. They are watered and fed only once a day, the former at one o'clock at noon, and the latter at sun-set; and the only mode which they use to clean them, is by washing them all over in a river two or three times a week, and suffering them to dry themselves.

Notwithstanding the attachment which the Moors manifest to their horses, they most certainly use them with great cruelty. Their highest pleasure, and one of their first accomplishments is, by means of long and sharp spurs to make the horse go full speed, and then to stop him instantaneously; and in this they certainly manifest uncommon dexterity. The iron-work of their bridles is so constructed, that by its pressure on the horse's tongue and lower jaw, with the least exertion of the rider, it fills his mouth full of blood, and if not used with the utmost caution, throws him inevitably on his back. The bridle has only a single rein, which is so very long that it serves the purpose of both whip and bridle. The Moorish saddle is in some degree similar to the Spanish, but the pommel is still higher and more peaked. Their stirrups, in which they

ride very short, are so formed as to cover the whole of the foot. They either plate or gild them, according to the dignity, opulence, or fancy of the possessor. Their saddles, which are covered with red woollen cloth, or, if belonging to a person of consequence, with red satin or damask, are fastened with one strong girt round the body, in the European style, and another round the shoulders.

The Moors frequently amuse themselves by riding with the utmost apparent violence against a wall; and a stranger would conceive it impossible for them to avoid being dashed to pieces, when just as the horse's head touches the wall, they stop him with the utmost accuracy. To strangers on horseback or on foot it is also a common species of compliment to ride violently up to them, as if intending to trample them to pieces, and then to stop their horses short and fire a musket in their faces. Upon these occasions, they are very proud in discovering their dexterity in horsemanship, by making the animal rear up, so as almost to throw him on his back, putting him immediately after on the full speed for a few yards, then stopping him instantaneously, and all this is accompanied by loud and hollow cries.

There is another favourite amusement, which displays perhaps superior agility:—a number of persons on horseback start at the same moment accompanied with loud shouts, gallop at full speed to an appointed spot, when they stand up straight in the stirrups, put the rein, which is very long, in their mouths, level their pieces, and fire them off; throw their firelocks immediately over their right shoulders, and stop their horses nearly at

the same instant. This also is their manner of engaging in an action.

Though the Moors sit their horses well, and, as far as is necessary for the above-mentioned exercise, have a great command over him, yet their horses are ill-bred, and they entirely neglect to teach them those paces which in Europe are considered as the most agreeable for the common purposes of riding. As none of these animals in Morocco are geldings, and as the Moors are unacquainted with the use of the ring, they are obliged to break them in when very young, by taking them long and fatiguing journeys, particularly over the mountainous and rocky part of the country, where they soon reduce their spirit; they then take the opportunity of teaching them to rear up, stand fire, gallop, and stop short in the manner already related, and having accomplished this, they are satisfied without any further qualification. For this reason a Barbary horse seldom can perform any other pace than a full gallop or a walk; and from being broken in and worked hard before they have acquired their full strength, these horses in a very few years become unfit for service. The Moors seldom ride the mares, but keep them in the country for breeding; and, contrary to the general opinion in Europe, they consider them so much more valuable than horses, that they are never permitted to be exported.

Like all barbarous nations, the Moors are passionately fond of music, and some few have a taste for poetry. Their slow airs, for want of that variety which is introduced when the science has attained a degree of perfection, have a very melancholy same-

ness ; but some of their quick tunes are beautiful and simple, and partake in some degree of the characteristic melody of the Scotch airs. The poetry of their songs, the constant subject of which is love, though there are few nations perhaps who are less sensible of that passion, has certainly less merit than the music.

Their instruments are a kind of hautboy, which differs from ours only in having no keys ; the mandoline, which they have learnt to play upon from their neighbours the Spaniards, another instrument bearing some resemblance to a violin, and played upon in a similar manner, but with only two strings ; the large drum, the common pipe, and the tabor. These united, and accompanied with a certain number of voices, upon many occasions form a band, though solo music is more common in this unsocial country.

Upon all days of rejoicing, this kind of music, repeated volleys of musketry, either by men on horseback or on foot, and in the evening a grand attack upon the cuscusoo, constitute the principal part of the public entertainments. Mountebanks and jugglers also of every description meet with great encouragement from the Moors.

There are no other places of reception for the accommodation of travellers in this country, except in their fondaks, which are only to be met with in large towns. These consist of a certain number of dirty apartments, with no other accommodation whatever but the walls and roof to protect the stranger from the inclemency of the weather ; and he must furnish himself with every article of which he may be in



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want, both in respect to provisions and bedding. There is at the same time an open court, where the horses of all travellers are intermixed.

In most of the towns there are regular schools, where those children whose parents have the means of doing it, and have sense enough to send them, (which indeed are but few in proportion to the whole) are instructed by the talbs in reading and writing, and sometimes in the first rules of arithmetic. The greater part of the people, however, learn very little more than to read a few prayers selected from the Koran, which are in common use, and are written in Arabic characters, on paper which is pasted on a board.

Religion of the Moors and Turks.

The mosque is usually a large square building, composed of the same materials as the houses, consisting of broad and lofty piazzas, opening into a square court, in a manner in some degree similar to the Royal Exchange of London. In the centre of the court is a large fountain, and a small stream surrounds the piazzas, where the Moors perform the ceremony of ablution. The court and piazzas are floored with blue and white checquered tiling, and the latter are covered with matting, upon which the Moors kneel while repeating their prayers. In the most conspicuous part of the mosque, fronting the east, stands a kind of pulpit, where the talb or priest occasionally preaches. The Moors always enter this place of worship barefooted, leaving their slippers at the door. On the top of the mosque is a

square steeple with a flag-staff, whither at stated hours the talb ascends, hoists a white flag (for they have no bells) and calls the people to prayers, repeating in Arabic three times, and addressing himself each time to a different part of the town, *How great is God! Mahomet is his Prophet! Come all ye faithful; come to prayer.* From this high situation the voice is heard at a considerable distance, and the talbs have a monotonous mode of enunciation, the voice sinking at the end of every short sentence, which in some measure resembles the sound of a bell.

The moment the flag is displayed, every person forsakes his employment, and goes to prayers. If they are near a mosque, they perform their devotions within it, otherwise immediately on the spot where they happen to be, and always with their faces towards the east, in honour of the prophet Mahomet, who it is well known was buried at Medina. The prayer which is generally repeated on these occasions, is a chapter from the Koran, acknowledging the goodness of God and Mahomet; and it is accompanied with various gestures, such as lifting the hands above the head, bowing twice, performing two genuflexions, bowing again twice, and kissing the ground. The whole of this ceremony they repeat three times.

Their sabbath is on our Friday, and commences from six o'clock the preceding evening. On this day they use a blue flag instead of the white one. As it has been prophesied that they are to be conquered by the Christians on the sabbath-day, the gates of all the towns and of the Emperor's palaces are shut when at divine service on that day, in order

to avoid being surprised during that period. Their talbs are not distinguished by any particular dress.

The Moors have three solemn devotional periods in the course of the year. The first, which is named *aid de cabier*, is held in commemoration of the birth of Mahomet. It continues seven days, during which period, every person who can afford the expense kills a sheep as a sacrifice, and divides it among his friends. The second is the Ramadan. This is a rigorous fast or lent, held at the season when Mahomet disappeared in his flight from Mecca to Medina; and is conducted by the Moors with so much superstition, that for thirty days, from sun-rise to sun-set, they lay aside all worldly acts, and devote their whole attention to exercises of piety; carefully abstaining from eating, drinking, smoking, washing their mouths, or even swallowing their saliva; and they are indulged with their usual custom of bathing only upon condition that they avoid suffering the water to approach their heads, lest any of it should enter the mouth or ears. To make amends for this strict observance of their lent during the day, they appropriate the whole night to the indulgence of every gratification, and at the expiration of the fast, a general festival takes place, named the *Beyran*, which continues seven days. The third is named *Llashore*, and is a day set apart by Mahomet for every person to compute the value of his property, in order for the payment of *Zakat*, that is, one-tenth of their income to the poor, and other pious uses. Although this feast only lasts a single day, yet it is celebrated with far greater magnificence than either of the others.

There is also a superstitious custom among the

Moors, when any thing of moment is to be undertaken, such as going on a dangerous journey or voyage, the disposal of their children in marriage, &c. for some grave person to make an harangue to the multitude, upon which his auditors call for the key of direction. By this is meant the performance of joining the hands, looking stedfastly on the palms during the admonition, then by a joint concurrence calling on God and the prophet, and concluding the ceremony by stroking their faces with both hands, and joining in chorus, saying, *Salem, Salem*, (peace be with you) with much devotion. The due performance of this ceremony they conceive will insure them certain success in all their undertakings. Such is a brief outline of the religion of the Moors.

We shall, however, display to our readers at greater length, the *principles of Mahometanism*, as they are detailed by a Mahometan, a sketch which is of course entitled to the highest credit for its correctness. This account is also free from those numerous falsehoods and absurdities which too often disgrace the narratives of otherwise intelligent travellers.

“The Mahometan religion is extremely simple; it has no mysteries, no sacraments, no intermediate persons between God and man, known by the name of priests or ministers; no altars, images, or ornaments. God is invisible, the heart of man is his altar, and every Mussulman is high priest. According to the *El Hhaddiss*, or the canonical tradition, the prophet has declared the essence of his religion to consist in the following sentence: “Mahometanism is established on five fundamentals;

viz. “ The profession of the faith ; ‘ *There is no God but one God, and Mahomet is his messenger ;*’ the saying of prayers, giving of alms, fasting on Ramadan, and making a pilgrimage to the house of God.”

“ Notwithstanding this simplicity, there is, perhaps, not a religion in the world which has had so many commentators, expositors, and writers.

“ Its worship is divided into four orthodox rites, which are the *Hhaneffi*, the *Maleki*, the *Hhanbeli*, and the *Schaffi*, names of the four Imans who founded them.

“ The first of these rites is that observed by the Turks, the second by the people of Moroccco and by the western Arabians, and the two others are followed by various tribes and nations of Arabia and Asia. With regard to the dogma, these rites do not differ ; their variation is only in their religious ceremonies : for example, when standing to say their prayers, the Hhaneffis cross their arms, and the Malekis let them hang down. In making their ablutions, the one begin with the point of the finger, and advance to the elbow ; whilst the others begin with the elbow, and end at the point of the fingers. The Mussulman’s belief is, that in order to present himself with propriety before the Creator, and to deserve his regard, the body of man ought to be entirely pure ; for this reason the legal ablutions have been instituted ; they require the hands to be washed three times successively, and also the inside of the mouth, of the ears, and of the nostrils, the face, the arms, the head, the neck, and the feet ; besides these, there are some general ablutions, as in washing the whole body from head to toe every Friday before the noon-prayer, and after certain ac-

tions. In the places where no water is to be had, the ablution may be made with earth or sand ; this is their custom in the deserts. The ablution is also effected by rubbing themselves with the hands alone, after having put them on a stone ; sailors, at sea, make use of this kind of ablution, as the seawater is considered as impure, and entirely unfit for the purpose.

“ Every Mussulman must say over his prayers five times a day ; the first time at the first point of dawn, or when the sun is at eighteen degrees under the horizon in the east, which is called *Es-sebah* ; the second time in the afternoon, when the shade of a gnomon, placed perpendicularly in the sun, shows the fourth part of its length ; this prayer is called *Ed-douhour* ; the third prayer is made when the shade of this gnomon is equal to its own length, this prayer is called *El-assar* ; the fourth takes place a moment after sun-set, and is called *El-mogarel* ; and the fifth is at the last moment of twilight, or when the sun is at eighteen degrees beneath the horizon in the west ; it is called *El-aaschir*.

“ Every canonical prayer is composed of the invocation, of different *rikats*, and of the salutation ; a rikat is composed of seven positions of the body, with various prayers.

“ The following is the form and the tenor of the prayer :

“ *Invocation.*

“ The body being straight, and the two hands lifted up to the ears, they say, ‘ Allahouakibar ! God most great !’

“ 1st position ; Standing, the arms and hands hanging down (by the Malekis,) or the arms crossed (by the

Haneffis) the first chapter of the Koran, called El-Fat-ha, is repeated; the following is its contents; viz. ‘Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds, the most merciful, the most gracious King of the day of judgment; we adore thee, and implore thy assistance; direct us the right way, the way of those whom thou hast distinguished with thy kindness, of those who are free from corruption, and who are not within the number of those that go astray. Amen.’

“A chapter or more verses from the Koran is then repeated in the same position.

“2d position: The whole upper part of the body is inclined, with the hands resting on the knees; they then with a loud voice say, ‘Allahouakibar! God most great!’

“3d position: Rising again they say, ‘Semeo Allahou limann Hamidahhou. God listens when praise is given to him.’

“4th position: prostrated, with the knees, hand, nose, and forehead on the ground, they say, ‘Allahouakibar! God most great!’

“5th position: Sitting down on the heels, and with the hands placed on the thighs, they say, ‘Allahouakibar! God most great!’

“6th position: Prostrating themselves as before, they say, ‘Allahouakibar! God most great!’

“7th position: Rising up on their feet, and, if possible, without touching the ground with their hands, they say, ‘Allahouakibar! God most great!’

“Thus the first rikat is finished; after it a second is begun.

“The second rikat is like the first, with the difference, that at the seventh position they sit down on

their heels as at the 5th, repeating, ‘Allahouakibar! God most great!’

“To which they add, ‘Vigils are for God; so are prayers and alms. Welfare and peace to thee, O Prophet of God; may the mercy and blessing of God be also upon thee. Welfare and peace to us and to all the just and virtuous servants of God. I attest that there is no god but the one God, and that Mahomet is his servant and his prophet.

“If the prayer is to contain but two rikats, the following addition is repeated in the same posture, after the prayer just mentioned:

“‘And I attest that it was he that called Mahomet to himself; and I attest the existence of paradise, of hell, and of *Sirat*,* and of the balance,† and of eternal happiness, which will be bestowed on those who do not doubt it, and that in truth God will raise them from the dead. O my God! bestow thy blessing of peace on Mahomet, and on his tribe, as thou hast bestowed thy blessing on Ibrahim (or Abraham); and let Mahomet, and the tribe of Mahomet, be blessed as thou hast blessed Ibrahim, and the tribe of Ibrahim. Grace, praise, and exaltation of glory are in thee and for thee.’

“*Conclusion or Salutation.*

“Sitting and turning the face to the right, and af-

* The bridge over hell, as fine as the edge of a sword; the just will pass it with the rapidity of lightning, to enter paradise; the reprobate will fall from it into the gulfs of hell.

† The eternal balance or scales in which the good and bad actions of men are weighed.

terwards to the left, the salutation is repeated to both sides : ‘ Assalamouaaléikom. Peace be with you.’

“ This forms a perfect prayer ; but if it is to contain three rikats, the addition and conclusion only are recited at the end of the third rikat, which is exactly like the second. If the prayer is to have four rikats, in this case, after the second, and without addition, the two last must be recited like the two first ; and afterwards the addition and conclusion follow the fourth.

“ Before the canonical prayers are begun, they make the following address :

“ ‘ God most great ! God most high ! I attest that there is no other god but Allah ; I attest there is no other god but Allah ; I attest that our lord Mahomet is the prophet of God. I attest that our lord Mahomet is the prophet of God. Come to prayers. Come to prayers. Come to the asylum (or to the temple) of salvation. Come to the asylum. God most great ! God most high ! There is no other god than God !’

“ This address is also uttered five times a day from the minarets of the mosques, to summon the faithful, or to apprise at least the people of the hour of prayer. Every one may say his prayers on the spot where he finds himself, except that of Douhour on Fridays, which must be made at the mosque in public. To the convocation in the morning, after the second *a-ï-a-el-felah*, they add, ‘ Es salátou hhaïróún minn en náoum. Prayer is better than sleep. Es salátou hhaïróún minn en náoum. Prayer is better than sleep.’

“ The man who is charged with these cries is

called El-muedden. Another Muedden is in the mosque, who repeats or sings the address, and *Allahouakibar* at every one of the positions of the rikats, as also the conclusion *Assalámou aaléikom*.

“After each of the canonical prayers they make use of a chaplet; at the first bead they say, ‘Sobhána Alláhi! O holy God!’ At the second bead, ‘Alhándo Lilláhi! Praise be to God!’ At the third, ‘Alláhu akibar! God most great!’ And in this manner they say their devotions over the ninety beads of the Mahometan chaplet.

“As it is not permitted to a Mussulman to ask of God, in established prayers, any goods of this world, they generally, after having said over the chaplet, fold their hands, and lifting them up like a man who had to receive something from above, pray for any thing they desire; and after having finished this prayer, they pass the right hand over their beard and say, ‘Alhándo Lilláhi! Praise be to God!’ This formula finishes the prayer.

“It is their custom to go on Fridays, at least half an hour before the Imaum. As soon as they enter they say a short prayer of two rikats; after this they sit down and continue their prayers, repeating them by heart, or reading in some holy book; chiefly in that which is called *Dalíl Hhíratz*.

“Before the Friday prayers the Imaum makes a sermon to the people.”*

The Moors compute time by lunar months, and count the days of the week by the first, second, third, &c. beginning from our Sunday. They use a

* See Travels of Ali Bey, vol i. p. 89, et seque.

common reed for writing, and begin their manuscripts from right to left.

The Moors marry very young, many of their females not being more than twelve years of age at their nuptials. As Mahometans, it is well known that their religion admits of polygamy to the extent of four wives, and as many concubines as they please; but if we except the very opulent, the people seldom avail themselves of this indulgence, since it entails on them a vast additional expence in house-keeping, and in providing for a large family. Whatever institution is contrary to truth and sound morality will in practice refute itself; nor is any further argument than this single observation wanting to answer all the absurdities which have been advanced in favour of a plurality of wives. In contracting marriage the parents of both parties are the only agents, and the intended bride and bridegroom never see each other till the ceremony is performed. The marriage settlements are made before the *cadi*, and then the friends of the bride produce her portion, or if not, the husband agrees to settle a certain sum upon her, in case he should die, or divorce her on account of barrenness, or any other cause. The children of the wives have all an equal claim to the effects of their father and mother, but those of the concubines can each only claim half a share.

When the marriage is finally agreed upon, the bride is kept at home eight days, to receive her female friends, who pay congratulatory visits every day. At the same time a *talb* attends upon her, to converse with her relative to the solemn engagement on which she is about to enter; on these occasions

he commonly accompanies his admonitions with singing a pious hymn, which is adapted to the solemnity. The bride also with her near relations goes through the ceremony of being repainted.

During this process, the bridegroom on the other hand receives visits from his male friends in the morning, and in the evening rides through the town accompanied by them, some playing on hautboys and drums, while others are employed in firing volleys of musketry. In all their festivals, the discharge of musketry indeed forms a principal part of the entertainment. Contrary to the European mode, which particularly aims at firing with exactness, the Moors discharge their pieces as irregularly as possible, so as to have a continual succession of reports for a few minutes.

On the day of marriage, the bride in the evening is put into a square or octagonal cage, about twelve feet in circumference, which is covered with fine white linen, and sometimes with gauzes and silks of various colours. In this vehicle, which is placed on a mule, she is paraded round the streets, accompanied by her relations and friends, some carrying lighted torches, others playing on hautboys, and a third party again firing volleys of musketry.

In this manner she is carried to the house of her intended husband, who returns about the same time from performing similar ceremonies. On her arrival she is placed in an apartment by herself, and her husband is introduced to her alone for the first time, who finds her sitting on a silk or velvet cushion, supposing her to be a person of consequence, with a small table before her, upon which are two wax

candles lighted. Her shift, or more properly shirt, hangs down like a train behind her, and over it is a silk or velvet robe with close sleeves, which at the breast and wrists is embroidered with gold; this dress reaches something lower than the calf of the leg. Round her head is tied a black silk scarf, which hangs behind as low as the ground. Thus attired, the bride sits with her hands over her eyes, when her husband appears and receives her as his wife, without any further ceremony; for the agreement made by the friends before the *cadi* is the only specific contract which is thought necessary.

If the husband should have any reason to suspect that his wife has not been strictly virtuous, he is at liberty to divorce her, and take another. For some time after marriage the family and friends are engaged in much feasting and a variety of amusements, which last a longer or shorter time, according to the circumstances of the parties. It is usually customary for the man to remain at home eight days and the woman eight months after they are first married; and the woman is at liberty to divorce herself from her husband, if she can prove that he does not provide her with a proper subsistence. If he curses her, the law obliges him to pay her, for the first offence, eight ducats; for the second, a rich dress of still greater value; and the third time she may leave him entirely. He is then at liberty to marry again in two months.

At the birth of a child, it is customary for the parents to grieve eight days, at the expiration of which they sacrifice a goat or a sheep, and invite their friends and acquaintance to partake of the feast. Women suffer but little inconvenience in this country

from child-bearing; they are frequently up the next day, and go through all the duties of the house with the infant upon their backs. They do not adopt the method of teaching their children to walk which is customary in Europe, but when they are twelve months old they put them on the floor, where from first crawling they naturally in a short time acquire the habit of walking, and as soon as they can be made in the least degree useful, they are put to the various kinds of labour adapted to their age and strength. Others, whose parents are in better circumstances, are sometimes sent to school; and those who are intended for the church usually continue their studies till they have nearly learnt the Koran by rote. In that case they are enrolled among the talbs or learned men of the law; and upon leaving school are paraded round the streets on a horse, accompanied by music and a large concourse of people. The procession is conducted in the following manner. Upon the day appointed, one of the most showy horses in the place is procured for the youth to ride on, who, if he is a person of consequence, is dressed in all the gaiety which silks and brocades can afford, wearing a turban richly ornamented with gold and jewels, and interspersed with flowers. Thus arrayed, he mounts his horse, which also is not without its decorations carrying in his hand his prayers pasted on a board, on which he looks with stedfast attention; and he proceeds with all the sedateness and composed gravity of old age to the different places appointed for the purpose, accompanied by music, and all his schoolfellows on horseback, dressed according to their circumstances. At last they meet at the house

of the head boy of the school, where they are treated with a collation and sweetmeats. This custom, which is evidently adopted with a view of promoting an emulation in their youths, is one of the very few good institutions which are observable among these people.

In celebrating the rite of circumcision, the child is dressed very sumptuously, and carried on a mule, or, if the parents are in poor circumstances, on an ass, accompanied with flags flying and musicians playing on hautboys and beating drums. In this manner they proceed to the mosque, where the ceremony is performed.

When any person dies, a certain number of women are hired for the purpose of lamentation, (for the men are seldom observed to weep for the loss of a friend) in the performance of which nothing can be more grating to the ear, or more unpleasant, than their frightful moans or rather howlings: at the same time these mercenary mourners beat their heads and breasts, and tear their cheeks with their nails. The bodies are usually buried a few hours after death. Previous to interment, the corpse is washed very clean, and sewed up in a shroud composed of seven pieces of fine linen united together, with the right hand under the head, which is pointed towards Mecca; it is carried on a bier supported upon men's shoulders to the burying-place which is always, with great propriety on the outside of the town, for they never bury their dead in the mosques or within the bounds of an inhabited place. The bier is accompanied by numbers of people, two abreast, who walk very fast, calling upon God and Mahomet, and singing hymns adapted to the occa-

sion. The grave is made very wide at the bottom, and narrow at the top, and the body is deposited without any other ceremony than singing and praying in the same manner as on their way to the grave.

Some further account of the funeral ceremonies of the Moors, we give in the lively and agreeable narrative of a recent traveller.

“ When a person is thought to be dying, he is immediately surrounded by his friends, who begin to scream in the most hideous manner, to convince him there is no more hope, and that he is already reckoned among the dead ! The noise and horror of this scene cannot surely but serve to hurry the patient, worn down already by sickness, to his last state. If the person be in too much pain, (perhaps in a fit) they put a spoonful of honey in his mouth, which in general puts him out of his misery, that is to say, he is literally choaked ; when, by being treated differently, or even left to himself, he might perhaps have recovered. Then, as according to their religion, they cannot think the departed happy till they are under ground, they are washed instantly while yet warm ; and the greatest consolation the sick man’s friends can have, is to see him smile while this operation is performing, as they look on that as a sign of approbation in the deceased of what is doing ; not supposing such an appearance to be a convulsion, occasioned by washing and exposing to the cold air the unfortunate person before life has taken its final departure. This accounts for the frequent instances that happen here of people being buried alive : many of the Moors say a third of the people are lost in this manner.

“ The moment a death happens in a family, the alarm is given by the shrill screaming of the words *woulliah woo*, repeated incessantly by the relations, and every body in the house. These cries, heard at a great distance, bring every female acquainted with, or dependant on, the family, to scream over the dead, and mourn with the nearest relations of the deceased; and it strikes one with the greatest horror to see the afflicted widow or mother, half dead with grief for her loss, obliged (according to the custom of the country) to receive the visits of not less than a hundred different women, who come to condole with her. They each take her in their arms; they lay her head on their shoulder, and scream without intermission for several minutes, till the afflicted object, stunned with the constant howling, and a repetition of her misfortune, sinks senseless from their arms on the floor! They likewise hire a number of women, who make this horrid noise round the bier placed in the middle of the court-yard of the mansion, over which these women scratch their faces to such a degree, that they appear to have been bled with a lancet at the temples; after the ceremony is over, they lay on a sort of white chalk to heal the wounds and stop the blood. These women are hired indifferently at burials, weddings, and feasts; at the two latter they sing the song *loo, loo, loo*, and extempore verses. Their voices are heard at the distance of half a mile.

“ It is the custom of those who can afford it, to give on the evening of the day the corpse is buried, a quantity of hot dressed victuals to the poor, who come to fetch each their portion, and form some-

times immense crowds and confusion at the doors ; this they call the supper of the grave.”*

The dead are always dressed for the grave ; the ears, nostrils, and eyelids are stuffed with a preparation of camphor and rich spices. An unmarried woman is ornamented as a bride, and bracelets are put on her arms and ankles. The body is wrapped in fine white linen, sanctified at Mecca, which is generally procured in their lifetime, and carefully preserved for their last dress. At the head of the coffin is placed a turban, if the deceased be a male, corresponding with his rank ; if a female, a large bouquet of flowers—if a virgin, the *loo, loo, loo*, is sung by hired women, that she may not be laid in the ground without having had the benefit of the wedding song. On Fridays, the eve of the Mahometan sabbath, the women visit the tombs of their deceased relations, under the idea that on that day the dead hover round to meet their friends, and to hold commerce with those that may be deposited near them ; and on this account they conceive it to be the more necessary to dress the dead, that they may not in such an assembly of ghosts complain of the neglect of their relations. The tombs are neatly white-washed, and kept in constant repair ; flowers are planted round them, and no weeds suffered to grow. Small chapels are generally built over the tombs of persons of rank, and decorated with flowers placed in large China vases.

The funeral ceremonies observed upon the death of a Bey, are very curious, and worthy of par-

* See Narrative of a Residence at Tripoli, p. 89.

ticular notice. Upon the murder of the Bey of Tripoli, the wretched widow, according to the usual custom of the country, paid her first visit, at the proper time, to her husband's grave. The grave of the Bey had been previously strewed with fresh flowers for the second time that day ; immense bouquets, of the choicest the season could afford, were placed within the turba or mausoleum ; and Arabian jasmine, threaded on shreds of the date leaf, were hung in festoons and large tassels over the tomb ; additional lights were placed round it, and a profusion of scented waters was sprinkled over the floor of the mausoleum before Lilla Aisher (the widow) entered the mosque. His eldest daughter, the beautiful Zenobia, was not spared this dreadful ceremony : she accompanied her disconsolate mother, though this princess was so ill from the shock she received at her father's death, that she was not expected to live. Lilla Aisher's youngest daughter, not six years old, was likewise present at this scene of distress ; and when this infant saw her mother weeping over the Bey's tomb, she held her by her baracan, and screamed to her to let him out, refusing to let go her hold of her mother or the tomb till she saw the Bey again. The wretched Lilla Aisher, who went there in a state of the deepest dejection, was naturally so much afflicted at this scene of useless horror, heightened by the shrill screams of all her attendants, that she fainted away, and was carried back senseless to the castle in the arms of her women.*

* Tully's Narrative, p. 240.

The Moors have no particular colour appropriated to a mourning dress. "Their grief (says Chénier) for the loss of relations, is a sensation of the heart they do not attempt to express by outward symbols." This is not strictly the case: the clothes are entirely deprived of their new appearance, and the deeper the mourning is meant to be, the more mean and dirty they are made; all the gold and embroidery is passed through water till the gloss is removed, and the beauty destroyed: the Scripture phrase of 'sackcloth and ashes' describes almost literally the mourning habit of the Moors.

The female part of Mr. Tully's family visited Lilla Aisher, and they found her, as might be expected, very melancholy. According to the custom of the East, her dress bespoke the state of her mind; deprived of all its lustre, by methods taken to deface every article before she put it on. She wore neither ear-rings, bracelets, nor *halhals* round the ankles, or ornaments of any kind, except the string of charms round her neck. The moment she saw them she burst into tears, and one of the blacks was going to scream the *woulliah-woo*, but Lilla Aisher had the presence of mind to prevent her, as such a circumstance would have thrown the whole harem into confusion.

During this visit, Lilla Halluma, the unhappy mother of the murdered Bey, entered the apartment with her mangled hand in a sling. The Moors, it seems, instead of endeavouring to lighten the heavy hand of affliction, are ingenious in finding out new means to keep alive the recollection of misfortunes, and resort to every method they can think of to nourish grief. One of the first requests of the mo-

ther was, that the company might be taken into the very apartment where, in her presence, the Bey met his death. “ Dreadful as this favour appeared to us, (says the Narrative) we could not refuse to go for fear of offending her. We found the sight as strange as it was terrible ; against the walls, on the outside of the apartment, had been thrown jars of soot and water mixed with ashes. The apartment was locked up, and is to remain in that state, except when opened for the Bey’s friends to view it. All in it remained in exactly the same state as when Lilla Halluma received the Bey to make peace with his brother ; and what was dreadful, it bore yet all the marks of the Bey’s unhappy end. Not an article of any description had been suffered to be removed since the Bey’s dissolution. All that the apartment contained was doomed, by Lilla Halluma, as she said, to perish with the Bey, and like him, to moulder away in darkness.”

This soiling, or defacing, whatever belonged to the deceased, is further instanced in the case of the unfortunate Bey. “ Among the number of his horses that had never been mounted by any person but himself, he had one particular favourite ; it was remarkably handsome, and perfectly white. During the obsequies performing for the Bey’s death, when all was wretchedness, and nothing to be seen but mourning, this beautiful horse formed a painful contrast. It was the last object that appeared in the midst of this scene of horror, in the same state as when it belonged to his late master ; but soon its fine appearance was altered. Those who were mourning for the Bey’s death sprinkled it with their blood, and strewed it with ashes, and it was led from the

place covered with dismal tokens of its master's fate."*

During the period of mourning, all finery is put away, and all superfluous articles of furniture. Neither curtains, looking-glasses, tapestry, nor carpets are to be seen. The slaves wear their caps reversed, and they are stripped of all ornaments; the *henna* (*Lawsonia inermis*) ceases to stain the nails of the feet and hands; bracelets, ear-rings, necklaces, and every species of jewellery disappear; and all perfumes and scented waters, of which the Moors are particularly fond, are dispensed with. A widow of rank, when she puts on her weeds, goes to the sea side, has her hair combed with a gold comb, and the tresses plaited with white silk instead of black; the golden bandage over the forehead set with jewels is exchanged for a white fillet, and every article of dress soiled. At the expiration of four months and ten days she repairs again to the sea-side. "The same gold comb she had used before is carried with her, and four fresh eggs: the eggs she gives to the first person she meets, who is obliged to receive them, were it even the Bashaw himself. With the eggs, it is imagined, she gives away all her misfortunes, consequently no person likes to receive them; but this custom is so established, that not any one thinks of refusing them. She then proceeds to the sea-side, where her hair is combed a second time, and the comb thrown into the sea by herself; and she is then, and not before, at liberty to marry again."†

* Narrative, p. 244.

† Ibid. p. 307.

*Account of the Manner of Travelling in Barbary
and Arabia, by Dr. Shaw.*

In the several maritime towns of Barbary and the Levant, where the British factories are established, the author was entertained with extraordinary marks of generosity and friendship, having the use, not only of their houses, but of their horses also, their janissaries and servants. But in most of the inland towns and villages, particularly of Barbary, there is a house set apart for the reception of strangers, with a proper officer, called *maharak*, to attend us, where we are lodged and entertained for one night at the expence of the community. Yet even here we sometimes met with our difficulties and disappointments; as when these houses are already taken up, or when the *maharak* was not to be found, or when he was inclined to be surly and disobliging; great disputes, and *shamatan*, as they call brawls and discord, happening at such times. And as there were no inns or public houses to entertain us, and private families (contrary to the charitable custom recorded in Job xxxi. 32. and Matt. xxv. 35.) would never admit us, we had now and then occasion enough to meditate upon the same distress with the Levite and his company, when *there was no man that would take them into his house for lodging*;* and of the propriety there was to place the lodging and entertaining of strangers among good works.†

* Judges xix. 15.

† 1 Tim. v. 10. Heb. xiii. 2.

But when we travel in the open country, at a distance from these towns and villages, as in Arabia and the greatest part of Barbary, we are to take our chance, both with regard to our food and our lodgings, as will be hereafter more particularly related. As to our food, we were sometimes provident enough to take care of it, especially in Arabia. But to have furnished ourselves with tents in travelling through those deserts, would have been both cumbersome and expensive; besides the suspicion it might have raised in the jealous Arabs, that the persons they belonged to, were of a more than ordinary rank and condition, and consequently would be too rich and tempting a booty to be suffered to escape. The unfortunate gentlemen, who were concerned not many years ago in an embassy to Abyssinia, by order of the French king, found this to be too true, at the expence of their lives.

As we shall have frequent occasion to mention the Kabyles, the Arabs, and the Moors, it will be necessary to premise, that the Kabyles have generally the appellation of *Beni*, as the Arabs have that of *Welled*, prefixed to the name of their respective founders. Both words have the same signification, and denote the children or offspring of such a tribe: thus, *Beni Rashid* and *Welled Halfa*, equally signify the sons of Rashid and the sons of Halfa; or the *Rashides* or *Halfides*, as the ancient geographers and historians would have named them. We may observe further, that the Kabyles usually live upon the mountains, in little villages, called *daskrahs*, made up of mud-walled hovels (or *gurbies*, according to their own appellation); whereas the Arabs being commonly the inhabitants of the plains,

are therefore called Bedoweens, living as the Nomades and Scenitæ did of old, in tents; a collection whereof, pitched usually in a circle, with their doors opening towards Mecca, is called a *douwar*. But the Moors, who are the descendants of the ancient inhabitants, the Mauritanians, live all over Barbary, as the Turks likewise do in cities, towns, and villages; habitations more permanent than those of the Arabs, as they are more durable than those of the Kabyles. The language of the Moors is the same with that of the Arabs; the particular dialects being alike in them both, according to their nearer or more distant situation from Egypt, where their language is supposed to be spoken in the greatest propriety and perfection.

If, therefore, in the course of our travels, we did not fall in with any of the *daskrahs* of the Kabyles, or with the *douwars* of the Arabs, or with the towns or villages above mentioned, we had nothing to protect us from the inclemency either of the heat of the day, or the cold of the night, unless we accidentally fell in with a cave or grove of trees, the shelve of a rock, or with some ancient arches, that had formerly belonged to so many cisterns. At these times, which indeed seldom happened, our horses were the greatest sufferers; and as they were always our first care, we gathered for them stubble, grass, or boughs of trees, before we sat down and examined what fragments of some former meal were reserved for ourselves.

In travelling along the sea-coast of Syria, and from Suez to Mount Sinai, we were in little or no danger of being either robbed or insulted, provided we kept company with the caravan, and did not

stray from it ; but a neglect of this kind, through too great an eagerness in looking after plants and other curiosities, may expose the traveller, as it once did myself, to the great danger of being assassinated. For whilst I was thus amusing myself, and had lost sight of the caravan, I was suddenly overtaken and stripped by three strolling Arabs ; and had not the Divine Providence interposed in raising compassion in one, whilst the other two were fighting for my clothes, (mean and ragged as they were) I must inevitably have fallen a sacrifice to their rapine and cruelty. In the Holy Land, and upon the isthmus betwixt Egypt and the Red Sea, our conductors cannot be too numerous, whole clans of Arabs, from fifty to five hundred, sometimes looking out for a booty. This was the case of our caravan, in travelling (A. D. 1722,) from Ramah to Jerusalem ; where, exclusive of three or four hundred *spahees*, four bands of Turkish infantry, with the *mosolom*, or general, at the head of them, were not able, or durst not at least, protect us from the repeated insults, ravages, and barbarities of the Arabs. There was scarce a pilgrim, and we were upwards of six thousand, who did not suffer, either by losing a part of his clothes, or his money : and when these failed, then the barbarians took their revenge, by unmercifully beating us with their pikes and javelins. It would be too tedious to relate the many instances of that day's rapine and cruelty, in which I myself had a principal share, being forcibly taken at Jeremial or Anathoth, as an hostage for the payment of their unreasonable demands, where I was very barbarously used and insulted all that night ; and provided the aga of Je-

rusalem, with a great force, had not rescued me the next morning. I should not have seen so speedy an end of my sufferings.

But in Barbary, where the Arabian tribes are more under subjection, we were rarely guarded by more than three *spahees* and a servant; all of us well armed with guns, pistols, and scimitars; though even here we were sometimes obliged to augment our numbers, particularly when we travelled either among the independent tribes, or upon the frontiers of the neighbouring kingdoms, or where two contiguous clans were at variance. These, and such like *harammees*, as the free-booters are usually named in these countries, must be what the Europeans call wild Arabs; for there is no such name peculiar to any one particular clan or body of them, they being all the same, with the like inclinations (whenever a proper opportunity or temptation offers itself) of robbing, stripping, and murdering, not strangers only, but also one another. In proof of this, I need only mention the many heaps of stones that we meet with in several places in Barbary, in the Holy Land, and in Arabia, which have been gradually erected (as so many signs, Ezek. xxxix. 15.) over travellers thus barbarously murdered; the Arabs according to a superstitious custom among them, contributing each of them a stone whenever they pass by them. We read of something like this, Josh. vii. 26. and viii. 29. and 2 Sam. xviii. 17. where great heaps of stones are said to be raised over Achan, over the king of Ai, and over Absalom.

However, to prevent as much as possible the falling into the hands of these *harammees*, the greatest safety for a traveller, is to be disguised in the

habit of the country, or to be dressed like one of his *spahces*. For the Arabs are very jealous and inquisitive, suspecting all strangers to be spies, and sent to take a survey of those lands, which at one time or other (as they have been taught to fear) are to be restored to the Christians.

In our journeys betwixt Cairo and Mount Sinai, the heavens were every night our covering; the sand with a carpet spread over it, was our bed; and a change of raiment made up into a bundle, was our pillow. And in this situation we were every night wet to the skin, by the copious dew that dropt upon us, though without the least danger (such is the excellency of this climate) of catching cold. The continued heat of the day afterwards, made us often wish that these refrigerations could have been hourly repeated. Our camels (for horses or mules require too much water to be employed in these deserts,) were made to kneel down* in a circle round about us, with their faces looking from us, and their respective loads and saddles placed behind them. In this situation, as they are very watchful animals, and awake with the least noise, they served us instead of a guard.

As there was no chance of meeting, in these lonesome and dreary deserts of Arabia, with the least hospitality or entertainment, we were obliged to carry along with us every thing that was necessary for so long and tedious a journey. We took care in the first place to provide ourselves with a sufficient quantity of goats' skins, (or bottles, so often

* Gen. xxiv. 11.

mentioned in scripture,) which we filled with water every four or five days, or oftener if we found it. We laid in a provision likewise of wine and brandy. Barley with a few beans intermixed, or else the flour of one or other, or of both of them, made into balls with a little water, was the provender of our camels. We provided for ourselves wheat-flour, rice, biscuit, honey, oil, vinegar, olives, lentils, potted flesh, and such things as would keep sweet and wholesome during two months, the space commonly taken up in completing this journey. Nor should our wooden bason and copper pot be omitted; the latter whereof was the necessary utensil for cooking our provisions, the other for serving it up, or kneading therein our unleavened cakes. These two vessels made up the whole of our kitchen furniture. When we were therefore either to boil or to bake, the camels' dung that we found left by some preceding caravan (for wood is very scarce) was our usual fuel; which after being left a day or two in the sun, quickly catches fire, and burns like charcoal. No sooner was our food prepared, whether it was potted flesh, boiled with rice, a lentil soup,* or unleavened cakes served up with oil or honey, than one of the Arabs,† after having placed himself upon the highest spot of ground in the neighbourhood, calls out thrice, with a loud voice, to all his brethren, *the sons of the faithful*, to come and partake of it, though none of them were in view, or perhaps within a hundred miles of us. This custom however they maintain to be a

* *Red pottage*, Gen. xxv. 30.

† *Not to eat his morsel alone*, Job xxxi. 17.

token at least of their great benevolence, as indeed it would have been of their hospitality, provided they could have had an opportunity to shew it.

But travelling in Barbary is of a quite different nature. Here we always endeavour to find out the *douwars* of the Arabs, (not being fond of visiting the Kabyles, who are a set of sturdy fellows not easily managed,) where we are entertained at free cost, as in the towns and villages above mentioned, and as we read of the *wayfaring man*,* for the space of one night. For in this country, the Arabs and other inhabitants are obliged, either by long custom, by the particular tenure of their lands, or from fear and compulsion, to give the *spahees* and their company the *mounah*, as they call it, which is such a sufficient quantity of provisions for ourselves, together with straw and barley for our mules and horses. Besides a bowl of milk and a basket of figs, raisins, or dates, which upon our arrival were presented to us, to stay our appetites, the master of the tent where we lodged fetched us from his flock (according to the number of our company) a kid or a goat, a lamb or a sheep, half of which was immediately seethed by his wife, and served up with *cuscusoo*; the rest was made *kab-ab*, i. e. cut into pièces and roasted, which we reserved for our breakfast or dinner the next day.

Yet the cold and the dews that we were every night exposed to in the deserts of Arabia, did not incommode us half so much as the vermin and in-

* Jer. xiv. 8.

sects of all kinds, which never failed to molest us in Barbary. Besides fleas and lice, which might be said, without a miracle, to be here *in all their quarters*, the apprehensions we were under, in some parts at least of this country, of being bitten or stung by the scorpion, the viper, or the venomous spider, rarely failed to interrupt our repose, a refreshment so very grateful and so highly necessary to a weary traveller. Upon sight indeed of one or other of these venomous beasts, a *thaleb*, or writer, who was one of my *spahees*, after he had muttered a few mystical words, exhorted us all to take courage, and not be afraid of such creatures, as he had made them tame and harmless by his charms and incantations. We were likewise no less offended (from whence we might least expect it) by their young kids, lambs, and calves, that are tied up every night under the eaves of their tents, to prevent them from sucking their dams. For the cords used upon these occasions, being made only of yarn loosely spun, the fretful creatures are every moment breaking loose, dropping their dung and trampling upon us.

When we were entertained in a courteous manner, (for the Arabs will sometimes supply us with nothing till it is extorted by force,) the author used to give the master of the tent a knife, a couple of flints, or a small quantity of English gun-powder; which being much stronger than their own, is in great esteem, and kept chiefly for the priming of their fire-arms. If the *lallah*, or lady, his wife, had been obliging also in her way, by making our *cuscusoo* savoury, and with expedition, she would return a thousand thanks for a skein of thread, or

for a large needle, or for a pair of scissars; all of them great rarities, and very engaging presents with these people. An ordinary silk handkerchief, of two shillings value, was a present for a princess.

During the excessive heats of the summer, and especially when we were apprehensive of being intercepted by the free-booting Arabs, or *harammees*, we then travelled in the night, *which having no eyes*, according to their proverb, few of them dare venture out, as not knowing the unforeseen and unexpected dangers and ambuscades which they might possibly fall into. At this time, we have frequent opportunities of calling to remembrance the beautiful words of the Psalmist,* *Thou makest darkness that it may be night; wherein all the beasts of the forest do move.* The lions roaring after their prey, the leopards, the hyænas, the jackals, and a variety of other ravenous creatures crying out to their fellows,† (the different sexes perhaps finding out and corresponding in this manner with their mates,) break in very awfully upon the solitude, and the safety likewise, that we might otherwise promise to ourselves at this season.

Our horses and camels keep generally a constant pace; the latter at the rate of two miles and an half, the other of three geographical miles an hour; sixty of which miles, according to my calculation, constitute one degree of a great circle. The space we travelled over was first of all computed by hours, and then reduced to miles, which, in the following observations, when Roman is not men-

* Psalm civ. 20.

Isa. xiii. 22. and xxxiv. 14.

tioned, are always to be taken for geographical miles. I alighted usually at noon to take the sun's meridian altitude (called by the Arabs, *the weighing of the sun*,) and thereby adjust the latitudes; observing all along the course and direction of our travelling by a pocket compass, the variation whereof. (A. D. 1727,) I found at Algiers to be 14° , and at Tunis 16° to the west. Every evening therefore, as soon as we arrived at our *connack*, for so the *spahees* call the tents, the houses, or places where we put up, I used to examine what latitude we were in, how many hours, and in what direction we had that day travelled, making proper allowances for the several windings and occasional deviations that we had made out of the direct road.

Our stages or days journeys were not always the same. For when any danger was apprehended, we then travelled through as many by-paths as our conductors were acquainted with; riding in this manner, without halting, sometimes twelve, sometimes fifteen hours. Nay, in returning from Jerusalem, so vigilant were the Arabs in distressing the pilgrims, and particularly myself, that notwithstanding we had the *sheck*, or saint, of Mount Carmel, with twenty of his armed servants to protect us, we rested only one hour in two-and-twenty; for so long a time we were in travelling, and that very briskly, betwixt Sichem and Mount Carmel. But in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, an ordinary day's journey, exclusive of the time taken up in making observations, rarely exceeded eight or nine hours. Our constant practice was to rise at break of day, set forward with the sun, and travel till the middle of the afternoon; at which time we began to

look out for the encampments of the Arabs, who, to prevent such parties as ours from living at free charges upon them, take care to pitch in woods, vallies, or places the least conspicuous. And indeed, unless we discovered their flocks, the smoke of their tents, or heard the barking of their dogs, it was sometimes with difficulty, if at all, that we found them. Here we were accommodated with the *mounah*; and if in the course of our travelling the next day,

We chanced to find,
A new repast, or an untasted spring,
We blest our stars, and thought it luxury.

This is the method of travelling in these countries, and these are its pleasures and amusements; few indeed in comparison with the many toils and fatigues; fewer still with regard to the greater perils and dangers that either continually alarm, or actually beset us. And besides, the discoveries we are thus eager to pursue, and which are the occasion of all this anxiety and labour, how seldom is it that they answer our expectations? Instead of really diverting or instructing us in the manner we apprehended, they have sometimes produced quite contrary effects, by engaging us at once in a very serious turn of thought and meditation. For here in these diffusive scenes of antiquity, in the more celebrated cities of Africa, we are immediately struck with the very solitude of the few domes, arches, and porticos that are left standing, which history informs us, were once crowded with inhabitants; where Syphax and Massinissa, Scipio and Cæsar, the orthodox Christians and the

Arians, the Saracens and the Turks, have given laws in their turn. Every heap of ruins points out to us the weakness and instability of all human art and contrivance, reminding us farther of the many thousands that lie buried below them, who are now lost in oblivion, and forgotten to the world. Whilst we are full of these thoughts and meditations, Christianity steps in to our relief, acquainting us that we are only *strangers and pilgrims upon earth*; seeking a city, not like these, subject to the strokes of time and fortune, but *which hath everlasting foundations, whose builder and maker is God*.

CHAP. III.

Revolutions of the Barbary States.

IN the beginning of the twelfth century, Techien, the chief of a Moorish tribe, had the address to unite under his command all the other tribes; with these he engaged the Arabs, who had the greatest sway in Africa, over whom he gained several important victories, and at length, expelled them out of all the western parts; and thus formed a powerful empire in the neighbourhood of Mount Atlas. He was succeeded by his son Joseph, a prince no less brave and successful than his father, and who, at the beginning of his reign, laid the foundation of the city of Morocco. He declared war against the king of Fez, and leading his army into the territories of that prince, attacked and defeated his forces, and compelled him, together with the monarch of Tunis, to acknowledge him as their sovereign, and to pay him tribute; and having thus extended his conquests along the coast of the Mediterranean, he returned to Morocco. His martial and ambitious spirit would not permit him to enjoy ease and tranquillity; and he resumed operations in such a manner against the Arabian shaiks, who refused to acknowledge themselves as his vassals, and to become tributaries, that they were struck with a



Le Capitaine.



general consternation and dismay, and fled with precipitation to their inaccessible holds and fastnesses. Nothing, however, could defend them from the vengeance of Joseph, who attacking them in their retreats, at length entirely subdued them.

At the request of the Moorish princes established in Spain, he appeared twice in that kingdom, at the head of powerful armies.* He died soon after his return from thence at his capital of Morocco,* and left the sovereignty to his son Ali, a prince less warlike than his father, and who, instead of attending to the conquests in Spain, employed himself in erecting several splendid buildings; which afforded Alphonso, king of Arragon, an opportunity of recovering many considerable cities and provinces. At length, however, he was prevailed on by the repeated entreaties of the Moorish princes, to make several descents upon that kingdom, in the last of which his army was defeated with the loss of thirty thousand men, and himself deprived of both his life and his crown.

Ali was succeeded by his son Brahem,† a prince as much addicted to pleasure as averse from martial exploits, and who immediately after his accession to the throne, had no sooner endeavoured to secure the peace of his dominions, by confirming the governors and principal officers in their provinces and places, than he gave himself up to indolence and debauchery. This conduct, together with the taxes with which he burthened them, excited the universal indignation of his subjects, many of whom

* A. D. 1110,

† A. D. 1115.

took up arms against their sovereign. The leader of these insurgents was Abdallah, a man of considerable talents and political sagacity, and who was at the head of a religious sect. Brahem, immersed in pleasure, and regardless of every occurrence, did not attend to the revolt whilst it might have been suppressed. At length, however, he took the field against the insurgents, but with an army not sufficiently powerful for opposing and disappointing their intentions. His troops were defeated in the first engagement, and the unfortunate prince was compelled to fly for refuge; but being pursued by his revolted subjects, and seeing no method to avoid falling into their hands, he pushed his horse over a precipice, and was dashed to pieces.

After the death of Abdallah, his chief general Abdolumen, supported by the suffrages of all the other revolted chiefs, was declared his successor, and proclaimed king accordingly. Brahem, however, having left an infant son, whom, at his departure from the capital, he had committed to the care of proper governors; on the news of his father's death, he was acknowledged as sovereign of Morocco, and all the inhabitants swore allegiance to him. This circumstance was no sooner reported to Abdolumen, than he immediately marched an army against the capital, which he invested. It was bravely defended by the inhabitants, but he took a solemn oath that he would not raise the siege till he had reduced the city, and made it to pass through a sieve. In order to accomplish his oath, and to obliterate for ever the memory of the founders of Morocco, he caused the most ancient and splendid edifices, particularly the royal palace and other public

buildings, to be levelled with the ground, and the stones to be broken and reduced to powder, which was sifted. He then constructed in a more ample and sumptuous manner, other palaces and other mosques, which he denominated after his own name; but he had the mortification to see all those edifices resume the names of the kings their founders, by which they had been formerly distinguished. He put the son of the late monarch to death; and exercised the greatest cruelty against the citizens and soldiers who had signalized themselves in the defence of the city, or had exhibited zeal and loyalty in the cause of the infant sovereign.

In the mean time, the Moorish princes in Spain, greatly harassed by the exertions of king Alphonso, repeatedly entreated Abdolumen to pass over to their assistance; but his own dominions demanding all his attention, he could only send them an army of thirty thousand men, who were very serviceable against the Christians. On the death of Abdolumen, his son, Joseph the second, ascended the throne, and imitated his predecessors in making descents on Spain. He was succeeded by his son Almansor, which signifies conqueror, who carried the war into Spain, and also subdued Numidia, and all the country which extends as far as Tripoli, comprehending Morocco, Fez, and Tunis, to the deserts of Lybia. He likewise gained several victories over the Christians, and became the most powerful king that had reigned in Africa since the time of the Arabian caliphs. During the period of his absence in Spain, the governor of Morocco revolted; but not daring to meet his sovereign in the field, he retired into the capital, where he fortified

himself. The king immediately invested the city, but after besieging it for some time, was under the necessity of promising pardon to the rebel, on condition of his delivering up Morocco. Almansor, however, not being able to restrain his anger at the sight of the revolted governor, commanded his head to be struck off. But, touched with remorse at his cruelty and breach of faith, the king immediately disappeared, and wandered about obscure and unknown, and at length commenced the business of a baker at Alexandria. Here he was found some years after by one of his wives, who loved him with great tenderness, and had left Morocco to search for her husband. Almansor not being to be prevailed on to return to his kingdom, the emirs conferred the crown on his son, who experiencing great misfortunes in Spain, died of grief.* When intelligence was received of his death, all the governors of the different provinces revolted against his son, who was still a child ; and this vast empire, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, was divided into several nations and kingdoms, which are now known by the name of the States of Barbary.

History of Morocco and Fez.

After the death of Almansor, the vast empire of Barbary was divided among the governors or viceroy, who rendered themselves independent. From that period, the sovereign power was transferred from one person to another through several tribes, till at

* A. D. 1212.

length it became vested in that of Oatzes, who established the throne at Fez, and appointed governors to rule at Morocco. In the province of Dhara, there lived a person named Hassan, who pretended to be of the race of the shariffs, or descendants of Mahomet, and who had acquired great respect by his virtue, piety, and knowledge. This man had three sons, grown to maturity, who were called Abdelquiver, Hammed, and Mahomet, and whom he educated in the same principles. In order to raise their reputation among the devotees, Hassan determined to send them on a pilgrimage to Mecca, where they conducted themselves with such prudence, and exhibited such proofs of their piety and holiness, that on their return, the people flocked round them in crowds wherever they passed to kiss the hem of their garments.

Hassan and his sons pretended to ecstatic visions and revelations, and affected an extraordinary zeal for the Mahometan faith ; insomuch that, at length, they were considered as envoys deputed by heaven to be the defenders of the religion of the prophet. The old shariff, who conducted the matter, sent two of his sons to Fez, where they insinuated themselves so much into the favour of the king, that he raised Hammed, the eldest, to a professor's chair in the celebrated college in that city, and appointed Mahomet, the youngest, preceptor to his own children.

Taking advantage of the royal favour and of their influence in the college, they requested and obtained the governments of Suz, Morocco, Hoa, Tremecen, and Ducata. Muley Nacer, the king's brother, a person of much prudence and discern-

ment, penetrated the sinister designs of the shariffs, remonstrated with the monarch on the impropriety of his conduct, and ceased not to exclaim; that there was great reason to be suspicious of these hypocrites; but his remonstrances were vain and ineffectual. The two brothers had no sooner arrived in the provinces of their government, than they raised the standard of Mahomet against the Portuguese, who had possession there of some small and inconsiderable settlements. They also affected great zeal in the cause of the Mahometan religion, which failed not to procure them a great number of mussulmen soldiers; and attacking the city of Mezoar, whose inhabitants had sided with the Portuguese, they made themselves masters of it, and of the whole province of Dhara. These successes raised their reputation to such a height, that not only the king of Fez and his subjects, but all the Moors in general, applauded the choice that had been made of these shariffs. Muley Nacer alone penetrated their perfidious designs, and lamented the evils which he could not prevent. The repeated remonstrances of this prince, however, began to produce some effect on the mind of the king, when Mahomet, after rendering himself absolute in his government, built a magnificent palace in the capital of his province, and assumed the title of prince of Hoa.

The two brothers soon after formed the design of making themselves masters of the city of Morocco, which with the neighbouring territory was occupied by a prince of a petty tribe. In order to avoid the tediousness and uncertainty of a siege, they resolved, if possible, to obtain possession of the place by

treachery; which was accordingly effected by poisoning the prince. Not thinking themselves, however, sufficiently strong to profess openly their designs, they sent a splendid embassy to the King of Fez, assuring the monarch of their entire submission to his authority, and that they would pay him an annual tribute. Their father Hassan was now dead; and their eldest brother Abdelquivir, who was the least warlike of the three, had been killed in an engagement. They were at that time known under the denomination of the two shariffs, and considered and extolled among the good and pious mussulmen as the most steady and strenuous supporters of their holy religion; and having attained to this high degree of power, they at length resolved to maintain their independence, and to renounce their allegiance to the king of Fez. The monarch, now sensible of his imprudence, expressed his resentment by menaces, to which the treacherous shariffs paid no regard.

This prince died soon after of grief,* and was succeeded by his son, who having been educated under Mahomet, the youngest of the three brothers, imagined that he could gain his preceptor, by giving him to understand, that in consideration of a small annual tribute he would confirm him in his power and dignity. To this Mahomet replied, that being a descendant of the great prophet, it was neither lawful nor becoming his dignity and honour that he should pay tribute to any one. "If you are indeed," continued he, "desirous of treating me as a friend, I shall always entertain a grateful remembrance of the favours I have received from your father and

* A. D. 1529.

from you ; but if you endeavour to obstruct me in the war which I am now carrying on against the Christians, you must expect for that impiety the just judgment of God and of his prophet ; and as for myself, I want neither strength nor courage to counteract any attempts that may be made to divest me of my dignity and authority."

This answer being reported to the king of Fez, he laid siege to the capital of Morocco ; but being repulsed by the garrison, was obliged to abandon the enterprise. The two shariffs soon after united their forces, and attacking the monarch in his retreat, compelled his army to betake themselves to flight, when all the tents and baggage of the sovereign fell into the hands of the enemy. After this success, Mahomet assumed the title of king, which had before been given to his brother Hammed, whom he now exceeded as much in power, as he had hitherto surpassed him in valour and policy. The latter, however, displeased to see his younger brother usurp a dignity, which he considered as belonging exclusively to himself, declared war against Mahomet ; who prudently forbore all kinds of hostility till he was attacked by Hammed, and contented himself with apprising the principal officers of his army, of his brother's treachery and ingratitude. A general engagement soon after took place between the armies of the two rivals, in which that of Hammed was defeated with the loss of eight thousand men, and himself and one of his sons were taken prisoners.

At length, by the intervention of the nobles, a treaty of partition was concluded between the two brothers, by which it was agreed, that Mahomet should possess the government of Suz, together with

all the provinces to the south of Mount Atlas, and that Harran, his eldest son, should be declared heir to the kingdoms which they conjointly possessed. Hammed, however, was no sooner set at liberty, and had reached his capital of Morocco, than he refused to ratify the treaty, which he considered as extremely prejudicial to his own family. This was followed by another bloody and desperate engagement, in which the forces of the unfortunate Hammed were again defeated, and himself taken prisoner, and banished with his family to the province of Tafilet.

Mahomet now began to think of some pretence for declaring war against the King of Fez, whom he looked upon as not only an enemy, but as an eclipser of his glory, on account of his boasted long series of royal ancestors. He therefore sent to demand of him the restitution of the province of Tedla, which belonged to the kingdom of Morocco, of which he was now possessed. Receiving an absolute denial, he raised a powerful force, and laid siege to the castle on the frontiers of Fez, but was quickly forced to raise it; partly by the bravery of Onzar, who commanded it, and partly on account of the approach of the Fezian army, who, with Oataz at their head, were in full march against him. It consisted of thirty thousand men, among whom were the chief nobility of his kingdom, Velles, and Dubdu; besides some Arabian shaiks, at the head of their troops; eight hundred Turks, commanded by a Persian; and one thousand archers, on horseback.

Mahomet's army consisted of eighteen thousand choice troops, and about twelve hundred archers; nevertheless, trusting partly to his own good fortune, and partly to the inconstancy of the Arabs

and Fezians, he marched by slow journeys towards Oataz ; and had the pleasure to hear, from day to day, that the Fezian army continued to decrease, either by the desertion of his own subjects, or the retreat of some of his allies. This defection obliged that prince to engage him as soon as he could ; Mahomet perceiving his drift, reminded his troops of the great consequence of this present action, which, if crowned with victory, would infallibly open a way to them for the reduction of all Barbary. As he led them to the onset, he further assured them, that not a man of them should fall except a negro, and that the King of Fez would be taken prisoner ; all which circumstances he told them he knew by his skill in magic art. Having given express orders to his troops not to stir till the signal should be made, Oataz followed his example in this particular. Mahomet waiting till the declining sun shone full in the eyes of the enemy, gave the signal for the onset. Both sides engaged with equal ardour, till Mahomet's centre, where he commanded, opening to the right and left, discovered a battery of cannon behind the ranks ; which, as soon as it began to play, spread such an universal panic among the Fezians, that they betook themselves to flight. The king himself was hurried away by his own officers, but in his flight had the misfortune, wounded as he already was, to fall off his horse and to be taken prisoner, and brought bound to Mahomet.

As soon as Mahomet saw the unfortunate Oataz brought prisoner before him, he addressed himself to him in words to this effect : " Though fortune hath now made you my prisoner, yet the remembrance that I was once your tutor, inclines me rather to give you, as I was wont formerly to do, some

useful lessons, rather of tenderness than resentment. You cannot, indeed, be blamed for any thing but the neglect of punishing a great variety of atrocious crimes, which your subjects commit with impunity in your metropolis, once so famous for religion and learning, but now the sink of impiety and every kind of vice. But since you had not the courage to make use of the authority which God had intrusted you with, to suppress these enormities; if you see yourself now deprived of all your royalty, do not imagine me to be the author of it, but rather think that it is God himself, who hath fought on my side against you, and that your defeat is wholly his own work.

“ Great kings are seldom able to see truth but through mists and clouds, or to receive wholesome counsels, till some misfortunes oblige them to open their eyes. It is, therefore, to render you more obedient to his voice, that he hath brought you to this low estate; and now enjoins you by my mouth, to restore religion, arts, and sciences to their ancient splendour; by punishing those who are enemies to them, and whom you have hitherto tolerated within your dominions. As for me, do not think that I will take any advantage of your present ill fortune; for though I have just cause to resent the assistance which you offered to my brother against me, yet I know as well how to forgive as to revenge an injury. Be therefore of good courage, and depend upon it that it will not be long ere you are restored to your dominions.”

Oataz having heard him with great patience, is said to have made the following bold and sensible reply. “ I can hardly believe that you took up arms

against me merely to give me this lesson. However, since you give it me as a master, I will receive it rather as a disciple than a prisoner; and in hopes that my answer may prove as useful to you as you think your advice is to me, I shall readily own, that many abuses and irregularities may be introduced in a state, which is not in the power of a monarch to foresee or redress; but granting that those you charge me with were ever so great and enormous, and entirely owing to my neglect, doth it belong to such a man as you to take the punishment of my misconduct upon yourself? You, whom my father, at my request, raised from the vile employment of a schoolmaster to the height of credit and fortune? Is it for you, upon whom I myself have heaped the greatest favours, to repay me now with the blackest ingratitude; and this under the specious cloak of virtue and religion? But to avoid saying any thing that may expose the unparelled dissimulation you are so great a master of to those that hear us, be persuaded rather that Providence has now delivered me up into your power, to try what use you will make of your victory; and whether, after you have violated the most solemn treaties, and broken the most sacred ties of allegiance and gratitude, your heart can be capable of relenting. Since you have gone so far to make me sensible of my duty, let us now see how well you can perform your own, and whether you can perceive how far the inconstancy of fortune hath made us stand in need of each other. As for your complaint of my assisting your brother against you, I disdain to justify an action so laudable in itself, and which ought only to make you sensible how ready I should have been to have done

the same by you, had you been in his case." This severe answer was received by the artful sharif with a smiling countenance: but to avoid all farther replies on either side, he ordered the king, out of a pretended regard to his wounds, to be conducted into a stately tent next to his own, where that monarch had the mortification to hear, that Abu' Onzar, to whom he had committed the government of the fortress of Fixtela, was come to deliver the keys of it to his adversary.

This severe reply only produced a malignant smile on the countenance of the shariff; who, however, treated his prisoner with much outward respect. But when they came to mention the terms of his ransom, this ungenerous conqueror insisted that the king of Fez should deliver up to him his capital, whenever he might think proper to demand it. Hammed, the brother of Mahomet, who was dissatisfied with the portion of territory allotted to him, judging of the discontent of the king of Fez by his own, proposed to that prince to conclude a league offensive and defensive against their common enemy. Before, however, that matters were brought to a crisis, and even without knowing whether a rupture would take place, Mahomet suddenly presented himself before Fez, and summoned the king to surrender the city. This the monarch absolutely refused, and alleged, that the inhabitants were unwilling to open their gates, and to change their sovereign. Mahomet, however, having secretly gained over the people to his interest, by promising them certain advantages, was received into the city, and the unfortunate king fled with precipitation into the fortress,

where, being destitute of provisions, he was obliged to submit himself to the conqueror. The only terms on which he obtained his life were, that he should live as a private individual, in whatever place Mahomet should think proper to appoint. The unfortunate prince was commanded soon after to retire with his family to Morocco, where he might be under the immediate power of the conqueror; and Hammed was banished to the desert, in the hopes that his name would never more be mentioned.

This prince, however, contrived means to escape from his dreary abode, and once more appeared in arms against his brother, who took him prisoner soon after, and sent him with all his children to Morocco, which became his prison. Mahomet, in his old age, experienced misfortunes which irritated his temper: he lost in war a favourite son, to whom he confided his most important concerns, and his arms were not accompanied with that success, which had hitherto attended them. He became afraid of treachery and revolt, which contributed to render his life wretched, and his disposition cruel and tyrannical. He caused the unfortunate king of Fez and his son to be put to death, on suspicion that the monarch had excited in a neighbouring province an insurrection, which had been wholly owing to his own tyranny and exactions. The aged shariff, however, could not avoid his melancholy and untimely fate.

During the time in which Mahomet had been employed in subduing Morocco, Barbarossa had made himself master of Algiers; and between these two warriors there existed an ancient friendship, which was only dissolved by the death of the latter. His son Hassan, who on the demise of his father had as-

cended the throne of that kingdom, being informed that Mahomet was making preparations against him, and afraid that he should not be able to resist so formidable an enemy, dispatched an assassin, who, in consideration of a sum of money, promised to murder the tyrant. This was accordingly effected; and such was the tragical fate of Mahomet, who, under the specious cloak of religion and sanctity, and by the basest means, had raised himself to the summit of power and greatness. No sooner was the news of his death carried to Morocco, than Budear, the governor of that city, fearing Hammed, whom he had then in custody, would find means to excite a sedition among the people, caused him and seven of his sons or grandsons to be massacred. Thus the two rival brothers, who had so long contended for the empire, perished by violent deaths almost at the same time.

Mahomet was succeeded in the kingdom by his son Abdallah,* the first measures of whose government were employed in punishing the officious cruelty of Budear. In the number of those whom that minister had caused to be put to death, were two young princes, born by Lela Mariam, the sister of Abdallah, to Zidan, the eldest son of Hammed. The princess, greatly affected with this melancholy event, resolved to be avenged on the murderer of her children. For that purpose she endeavoured to inspire Abdallah with suspicions of Budear, then grand vizier, whom she insinuated to have murdered those princes with no other view than that of securing the crown to his brother; and that, on the death of the sovereign, he would also put to death

* A. D. 1557.

the king's son. Though the monarch entertained a greater affection for his sister than was consistent, he refused to give credit to this information, and requested farther proof of the vizier's designs. Lela Mariam, therefore, devised a stratagem which had the desired effect.

She proposed to her brother that he should feign himself ill, and that no person should be permitted to see him. The vizier was frequent in his visits, being always refused admittance, began to suspect that the king was dead, and that his sister, for some political reasons, intended to conceal this circumstance from the public. Budear, therefore, demanded to be admitted in a haughty and resolute tone, and told the princess that there was an absolute necessity of his being satisfied whether the monarch was alive or not. Lela, as if forced to comply, acknowledged that her brother was dead, and conducted the vizier into an apartment where he beheld the prince stretched out motionless, having his face covered with a veil. She then asked his opinion of what was proper at such a juncture, and proposed that the son of the deceased monarch should be proclaimed king. The vizier, however, replied, that the prince was too young to succeed his father; and that it would be necessary to have some one capable of governing the state, of punishing the crimes which Abdallah had tolerated, and of rewarding the worthy persons whom he had overlooked; that no one was better qualified for filling the vacant throne than his brother; and that, notwithstanding his obligations to the late king, he would be the first to oppose the succession of his son.

Budear would have added more, but Abdallah, no longer able to contain himself, uncovered his

face, and shaking his staff, began a speech filled with the most severe invectives and reproaches. The vizier, confounded and terrified, immediately quitted the royal presence, and disguising himself in female attire, fled out of the city. But while he was waiting under an olive-tree in expectation of horses which he had ordered to follow, some huntsmen who passed that way, taking him for a woman of pleasure, lifted up his veil, and recognized him. Their finding the vizier in such a situation, inspired them with suspicions; and they accordingly conducted him before the emperor, who, not recovered from the violence of his anger and resentment, ordered him to immediate execution. From that period Abdallah became extremely jealous and cruel, and endeavoured to remove whatever might seem to interrupt either his repose or his pleasures.*

Abdallah was succeeded by his son Muley Mahomet,† who was surnamed *the negro*, because born of a negro woman. This prince, a few years after his accession to the throne, was deposed by his uncle Muley Moluch,‡ who gained the famous battle of Al-cassor, in which Don Sebastian, the king of Portu-

* Abdallah was much given to wine and women; and when he had subdued his enemies, and secured himself from any farther attempts from his brother, he abandoned himself entirely to drinking and debauchery. He was seldom sober, but most frequently extremely drunk; and when so, indulged himself in flagrant acts of injustice, cruelty, and lewdness; insomuch that he scrupled not, among other modest women, whom he forced to submit to his brutish lusts, to debauch his own sister Lela Meriam, though he had above two hundred wives and concubines in his seraglio. He was of a brown complexion, middle size, but fat and corpulent towards the latter end of his life.

† A. D. 1574.

‡ A. D. 1578.

gal, was defeated and slain. When the engagement commenced, the Moorish sovereign was dangerously ill, and obliged to be carried in a litter; he, nevertheless, gave his orders with great tranquillity and precision; and requested those near his person, if he died during the contest, that they should conceal his death from the troops till after the battle: he lived, however, to see victory incline in his favour, and expired before the engagement was entirely decided.

He was succeeded by his brother Muley Hammed I.* who caused himself to be proclaimed amidst the trophies of Muley Moluch. The reign of this prince was prosperous and happy, and he was a lover and encourager of learning and learned men. His son Zidan, who ascended the throne on the demise of his father,† was employed during the former part of his life, in quelling the turbulence and rebellion of his brothers. His latter years however were spent in tranquillity and peace. This prince was succeeded by his son Muley Abdalmelech,‡ who became odious to his subjects, by his drunkenness, cruelty, and various other vices, and was assassinated by a Tartar Christian, whom he wished to make an eunuch. His brother and successor, Muley Elevali, was on the point of losing his eyes by the orders of the barbarous Abdalmelech, when he ascended the throne.§ This prince was of a mild and affable disposition, and procured the love and esteem of his subjects. He was succeeded by his brother, Muley Hammed the second,|| who

* A. D. 1595.

† A. D. 1603.

‡ A. D. 1630.

§ A. D. 1634.

|| A. D. 1646.

being excessively addicted to women, passed most of his time in a state of indolence in his seraglio, and became universally despised by his subjects. The inactivity of the prince excited the Alarbes, or Arabs of the desert, who besieged him in his capital, and afterwards murdered him.

This people substituted in his stead their own king, Crumel Hack; but as he was not of the dynasty, he is not included among the legitimate successors. These latter retired to the kingdom of Tafilet,* which was governed by one of them, named Muley Cherif, who being defeated in an engagement by Sidi Omar, the petty prince of Illech, was confined in a prison for a considerable time. In order however that he might not be entirely without company, Omar sent him a very ugly female negro, by whom he had two sons, Muley Archey and Muley Ismael.

The eldest of these children, Muley Archey, ascended the throne on the demise of his father, and became king of Tafilet. Having drunk to excess, he fell from his horse and fractured his scull, of which he died. He was succeeded by his brother, Muley Ismael,† who resided as a private individual at Mequinez, which was then only a castle, situated in the most agreeable and most fertile part of Barbary, where, during the former part of his reign, he employed himself in agriculture and commerce. He became, however, afterwards one of the most barbarous tyrants that ever disgraced a throne. He occupied his people in such a manner, that they might not have time for considering the oppression

* A. D. 1660.

† A. D. 1672.

under which they suffered. "If I confine rats in a basket," said he, "they will break through and escape, unless I afford them employment." He loaded them therefore with taxes and labour, and contrived to keep their minds in continual suspense by new orders and cruel exactions. The ferocity of his disposition, was only equalled by his avarice: he accumulated great sums, without being at any expence in maintaining his family and his troops.

Not many years after his accession to the throne, having commanded his army to go and retake the city of Morocco, of which Muley Mahomet, one of his sons, had made himself master, the officers demanded the money due to them. "Ye Moorish dogs," replied Ismael, "do the mules, camels, and other animals of my empire ask any thing for their nourishment and support? They procure it themselves without importuning me; do you the same, and march with all speed." This was encouraging both officers and soldiers to plunder wherever they went; and they failed not to obey his instructions.

Muley Mahomet, against whom they were sent, and had been compelled to revolt by the intrigues of a jealous step-mother, and the harsh usage of his father, had a formidable rival in his brother Zidan, who was the son of a female negro, named Lailah Ajakah, whose soul was equally black with her body. Muley being endowed with the most amiable qualities, was universally esteemed by the people; whilst his brother Zidan was exactly the reverse, and detested by every one. Ismael, for what reason is not known, sent these two sons to a distant town, where quarrelling and coming to blows, they were ordered to be brought before their father, who

not able to reconcile them, indulged in the singular pleasure of making them fight in his presence. At the earnest entreaty of the nobles, however, their scymitars were exchanged for cudgels; with which they fought with such fury, that they were soon covered with blood; and the death of Zidan seemed inevitable, when Ismael commanded them to cease. Mahomet not readily obeying the royal injunction, his father beat him with a stick; but in a few moments, his tenderness overcame his resentment, and as a reparation for the injury, he conferred on him a government at his choice.

The preferment of Mahomet awakened the jealousy of Lailah, who considered him as the person intended to succeed to the throne. She therefore counterfeited the king's hand and seal, and ordered him to put to death a venerable Arabian governor, whom Ismael highly esteemed. The prince obeyed, and this action would certainly have cost him his life, had not he been able to prove the cause of his perpetrating the deed. The treacherous conduct of his mother-in-law, induced Mahomet at length to rear the standard of rebellion; and the king sent against him his brother Zidan, who partly by force, partly by stratagem, took him prisoner.

On the first notice of his son's approach, Ismael attended by two thousand horse went forth to meet him. To add to the horror of the cavalcade, he was preceded by forty Christian slaves, bearing a large cauldron, one hundred weight of pitch, and the same quantity of tallow and oil. These were followed by six butchers with large knives in their hands, and a waggon loaded with wood. This horrid apparatus struck terror into the inha-

bitants of Mequinez, who had already seen punishments invented by Ismael. Mahomet's daughter, attended by a numerous company of ladies, who came to implore the king's clemency and pardon, sent forth the most lamentable cries. Even the black sultanness, dissembling her hatred, became an intercessor for the prince. Ismael however, coolly replied, that his son would suffer no other punishment than that of having a little boiling oil poured on him.

When the prince was brought before his father, he prostrated himself at the feet of the barbarian, and asked forgiveness. The king, however, fixing his eyes on the unfortunate Mahomet, placed the point of his lance against his breast, and remained silent for some time.

Ismael, however, considering that he was about to inflict a punishment too mild and lenient for the crimes which the prince had committed, commanded one of the butchers to mount the cart with him, and to place his arm on the rim of the cauldron, and to cut it off. The honest, but unhappy man, refused to comply with this injunction, and protested that he would rather lose his own life than shed the blood of the son of his prince. The king, irritated with this refusal, immediately struck off his head, and gave orders to another to cut off one hand and one foot of the unfortunate Mahomet; which being instantly executed, the barbarous Ismael insultingly said to his son, "Ah! wretch, dost thou now know thy father?" Having pronounced these words, he drew his sword and dispatched the executioner. On which Mahomet could not forbear to observe: "Behold the bravery of my father! he kills him who executes, as well as him

who disobeys, his orders." The arm and leg were then immersed in the melted pitch, in order to stop the effusion of blood ; and the same day the prince was conducted to Mequinez. He entered the city on a mule, with his arm in a scarf, and his leg in a wooden box ; but becoming frantic with this horrid treatment, he would not suffer his wounds to be dressed. He tore off the bandages ; and a mortification ensuing, he died soon after.

It is impossible to express the doleful cries and lamentations, which the news of this new kind of punishment occasioned in the palace, especially in the apartments of the women. To appease this agitation, the king threatened immediate death to all who should be heard to weep ; and to show that he was in earnest, he ordered four of them, who were unable to restrain their emotions, to be strangled. Mahomet's daughter was the only person permitted to indulge in tears and lamentations. After relating these accounts of the conduct of Ismael, it is almost needless to add that he was a monster of cruelty. He nevertheless appeared to be a pious and devout mussulman, and was strict in performing the several duties of his religion ; prayers, fasting, and ablutions. He was remarkably abstemious in the use of wine and strong liquors ; and therefore none of his barbarous actions can be ascribed to intoxication. He never undertook any affair of importance, without first prostrating himself a long time on the ground, and requesting light and assistance from God. What a contrast in the character of this prince !

Zidan, who had been the principal cause of Mahomet's ruin and death, became also suspected by

his father, who endeavoured by every means in his power to entice him to court. The negress, his mother, likewise exerted herself for that purpose; but their stratagems and efforts were vain and ineffectual. The violence and intoxication of Zidan, however, rendering him dreaded and detested by his wives, who lived in a state of continual alarm, Ismael gained them over to his interest; and one day, while overpowered with wine, they smothered him in his bed.

Zidan was no sooner dead than the tyrant conceived mistrust of his eldest son Abdelmelech, whom he endeavoured to persuade to reside near him; but not being able to effect this, he changed the order of succession in favour of Muley Debi, who was two years younger. Ismael died at a very advanced age. He seemed to reign chiefly by terror, which was always effectual. He sported with the lives of his subjects, and spared no one; and those esteemed themselves the most happy, who were not condemned to languish out a miserable existence amidst cruel torments. Ismael however was reckoned a great politician, and restored to the empire that splendour which had long been lost.

On the death of his father, Muley Debi, whom he had appointed his successor, ascended the throne;* but proceeding to great excess of cruelty and debauchery, the people cursed Ismael for having chosen the most vicious of his sons. This general hatred was extremely favourable to Abdelmelech, who had taken up arms against his brother; and having conquered Muley Debi in an engagement, he took

* A. D. 1727.

him prisoner, and would have put out his eyes, but was prevented by the militia. They considered him necessary to be preserved, in case they should dislike their new emperor. Though Abdelmelech was mild and patient under oppression, he no sooner acquired power than he became cruel and dissolute; and being unable to secure the favour of the negroes, he was deposed, and the crown restored to Debi. This prince was no sooner reinstated on the throne, than he recommenced his debaucheries and cruelties, and died after ordering Abdelmelech to be strangled.

Abdelmelech, however, richly deserved his fate. Of his various cruelties, the reader may form some idea from the following instances. He caused one of his negroes to be thrown from the top of a terrace, for stopping his pipe too hard; and another to be tossed in a blanket till his limbs were dislocated, for not bringing his dogs to him as soon as he expected. Neither did his wives nor concubines fare better; one of whom, on some trifling displeasure, he condemned to have all her teeth drawn; a few days after, having forgot his barbarous order, he commanded her to come to him again, and being told the misery she was in, ordered the tooth-drawer to be served in the same manner, and sent his teeth to her in a box to comfort her for the loss of her own. He caused two Jewish young women, newly married, to be brought to him, and having deflowered them, sent them away to their husbands; a few days after, finding that they had been registered as his concubines, and that they had co-habited with their husbands, he caused both couples to be murdered. Being always affable, and even generous

in his drunken fits, but brutish and cruel when sober, those who were obliged to approach him, had no other way to escape his fury than by making him drunk as soon as possible.

On the demise of Muley Debi, his son was acknowledged emperor; but one of Ismael's widows managed her intrigues with so much address, that she caused Abdallah, whom she had borne to that prince, to be placed on the throne.* This prince soon discovered the cruel and tyrannical disposition, which he inherited from his father. Like a monster he delighted to wallow in blood. He was six times deposed, and as often reinstated on the throne. During these vicissitudes of fortune, he was sometimes supported, and sometimes oppressed, by the corps of negroes, who were ready to sell their services to the most liberal and wealthy purchaser. One of his greatest enemies having been taken prisoner and brought before him, Abdallah plunged a spear into his bosom, and asked for a cup that he might drink his blood. His prime minister stopped him, and said, "This action is beneath the dignity of your majesty; but what is unbecoming in a king, may be proper and allowable in a subject." Having spoke thus, he took the cup, and swallowed the contents. If we were ignorant of the true character of this prince, some idea of it might be formed from such a minister.

Having taken Fez, which had been in a state of open rebellion, Abdallah massacred almost all the inhabitants of that city. His mother, in the utmost distress, remonstrated with him on account of these

* A. D. 1730.

cruelties and excesses ; but he only replied, “ My subjects have no other right to their lives, than what I give them. With respect to myself, I have no greater pleasure than that of butchering them with my own hands.” He had no other means left of avoiding their fury, than by undertaking a pilgrimage to Mecca. Death at last constrained him to give up his authority in 1757, after having divided the empire with his son, Sidi Mahomet, who having accustomed the people to respect him, succeeded to the throne without opposition.

This prince manifested a laudable desire of making peace with the powers of Europe ; and accordingly after confirming that already made between Morocco, England, and Holland, he began his reign with concluding treaties with Denmark and Sweden, and in the following year with Venice, France, Spain, and Portugal. In 1782, the emperor and the Grand Duke of Tuscany made peace, and the other powers of Italy enjoyed a kind of truce with the empire of Morocco. For the encouragement of commerce he built the town of Mogador, where nature had formed a port accessible at all seasons. He ordered the fortresses of Laracha and Rabat to be repaired, embellished each of these cities with some edifices and public markets, and made additions to his own palace at Morocco.

He multiplied mercantile establishments on the coast of Morocco ; and merchants settled at Santa Cruz, Mogador, Saffi, Rabat, Laracha, and Tetuan. Desirous of effacing the remembrance of all the caprices of his father, he wholly employed himself in the restoration of order, of re-establishing rules

for government, and uniformity in the decisions of justice; and with a view of carrying all his laudable plans into full effect, he raised his relation, Muley Dris, to the rank of his associate in the empire; but after the death of this prince in 1772, Sidi Mahomet indulged his own propensities more freely, to the dishonour of his government, as well as to the detriment of his country. Sidi Mahomet, who, after a reign of thirty-three years, died in 1790, was succeeded by one of his sons, Muley Yezid. Of the two last emperors, some interesting anecdotes will be found in our former pages; and of the cruelties and caprices of Sidi Mahomet, and Muley Yezid, there are various particulars in "Tully's Narrative of a Residence at Tripoli."

The *present sovereign* of Morocco, MULEY SOLIMAN, has three brothers, two of whom contended with him for the sovereignty, and being overcome, now live in exile. He is about forty, rather handsome, and of a quick comprehension. He is a *fakih*, or doctor, deeply versed in the Mahometan faith, and passes the greater part of the day in prayer. His religious austerity prompts him to shun every appearance of luxury in his dress and manner of life. Requiring still greater simplicity in his ministers and attendants, he has completely banished that splendour which usually accompanies a court: the most pernicious effect of this bigotry consists in the hostility with which it inspires him against various branches of industry. He has ordered all the plantations of tobacco to be destroyed, because although the prophet has not forbidden the use of that plant, there is no evidence of his having used

it himself. In the same spirit, he opposes every possible obstruction to commerce with Europeans, whom, as infidels, he regards with horror. In other respects, his government is said to be milder than that usually experienced by the people of Morocco.

History of Algiers.

Various tribes of Arabs having divided this part of the coast of Africa between themselves, they formed different petty states, among which there were some free and independent cities. By this means the kingdom of Algiers was partitioned into four sovereignties; Tenez, Algiers Proper, Bugeya, and Tremuen. The princes assumed the title of kings; and continued for some centuries in mutual peace and amity with one another. But at length they began to disagree among themselves, and the king of Tenez made himself master of Bugeya and Tremuen. Algiers Proper in the mean time had become a place of considerable celebrity, by the asylum it afforded to the Moors, who had been expelled out of the maritime provinces of Spain. These exiles, rendered desperate by their expulsion, and being well acquainted with the Spanish coast, issued from this retreat, and endeavoured to compensate the losses they had sustained by piracy at sea, and by predatory incursions on shore.

To suppress these ravages, Ferdinand the fifth, king of Arragon, sent a powerful fleet and army under the command of the Count of Navarre,* who

* A. D. 1505.

made an irruption into Africa, took the important city of Oran, and laid siege to Algiers, which was the principal haunt of these pirates. In this difficulty the Algerines invited to their assistance Selim Eutemi, a warlike Arabian prince, that possessed the neighbouring territory, and put themselves under his protection and government. But notwithstanding his efforts, the Spaniards carried on the siege with vigour, and at length Algiers was compelled to capitulate, and to become tributary to Spain ; nor could Selim prevent them from erecting a strong fort on a small island opposite to the city, which they supplied with a garrison and a numerous train of artillery.

The Algerines were obliged to submit to this galling yoke till the death of Ferdinand ; of which event they were no sooner apprised, than they determined to make every effort for regaining their liberty. With the consent and advice of Eutemy, they sent a deputation to the famous corsair Barbarossa, who had rendered himself formidable at sea from the age of thirteen ; requesting him to come and deliver them from the Spanish yoke, and promising a gratuity equal to his services. Barbarossa, highly gratified by this invitation, which offered him a fixed residence with a good port, of both of which he was then destitute, readily accepted the proposal. He arrived therefore with his brother Hairadin ; but did not communicate his real designs to the Algerines, and appeared only in quality of auxiliary and ally.

On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Algiers, all the people of the city, with Prince Eutemy at their head, went out to meet this illustrious warrior whom they considered as their deliverer, and conduct-

ed into that metropolis, with the greatest splendour, and amidst the acclamations of the populace. He was received with every mark of distinction, and all ranks were anxious to provide accommodations for his troops. He himself was lodged in one of the most splendid apartments in the palace of the Arabian prince; whilst his forces were treated with such uncommon generosity, that he began to procure the necessary information, and to concert measures, for executing the treacherous design of enslaving the Algerines, and of making himself king of Algiers. He communicated his plan to the chief officers of his council, from whom he exacted a solemn oath of secrecy, and who applauded his intention, and promised to assist him with all their abilities.

In the mean time, the better to deceive the Algerines, he caused a battery to be erected opposite to the Spanish fortress, which he bombarded for a month without producing any visible effect. On this occasion, however, he acted with such despotic authority, as never to consult the Arabian prince relative to any measures he intended to pursue; and the soldiers conducted themselves with such insolence and brutality, that the natives no longer doubted of his designs, but complained loudly of his perfidy and breach of faith. Barbarossa, fearing that they might endeavour to counteract his intentions, resolved to put Entemy to death, and to have himself instantly proclaimed by his troops, king of Algiers.

Being lodged in the prince's palace, he had an opportunity of concerting proper measures for the destruction of the Arabian chief. Having observed

that Eutemy was accustomed to repair to the bath every day at noon before prayers, Barbarossa surprised him there in a naked and defenceless condition, and having strangled him with a napkin, immediately withdrew, without being observed by any person. He soon after returned, accompanied by a considerable retinue, as if for the purpose of bathing; and expressed equal surprise and affliction, on seeing the murdered prince. Though the inhabitants suspected Barbarossa as the cause of this tragical occurrence, they had been so cruelly treated by the soldiers, that they dared not complain of the outrage. On the contrary, fearing that the slaughter would be universal, many of the natives abandoned their city and country, and sought an asylum in the neighbouring states; whilst others shut themselves up in their houses, and left the Turks in possession of all their property. This desertion and dispirited conduct opened an easy access to the vacant throne, which Barbarossa ascended at the request of his followers, without experiencing the least opposition from the Algerines. He was accordingly proclaimed in the city with great splendour; and rode through the streets on horseback, attended by his Turks and Moors, who cried, "Long live Barbarossa, the invincible king of Algiers, chosen by God to deliver the people from the oppression of the Christians, and to devote all those to destruction that shall oppose or disobey him, their lawful sovereign."

The tyrant was then accompanied to the palace, where, seated under a stately canopy, he received the congratulations of the Turks; and dispersed his troops through every part of the city, to invite

the Algerines to come and swear allegiance to their new monarch, with assurances that those who complied should be treated with particular regard, and entitled to the favour of the king. Accordingly, many did obeisance to him as their sovereign, signed the instrument of his coronation, and were dismissed with marks of esteem. Barbarossa however reigned rather by the terror he inspired, than by the affection and regard of the people. He suffered his avarice and ambition to hurry him beyond the bounds of prudence; a circumstance that had nearly proved fatal to his interest. The Algerines became exasperated by his cruelty, and the insolence and brutality of his soldiers; by his rapacious exactions he alienated the affections of the warlike Arabs, whose esteem he had been at great pains to conciliate; and he disbanded a great part of his Moorish troops, who returned in discontent to the province from whence they had been principally raised.

The Algerine chieftains, apprised of these circumstances, found means to send deputies to the Arabians, to exhort them to abolish the Turkish tyranny, to revenge the murder of their prince Entemy, and to restore his son to the throne and dominions of his father. They also carried on a secret correspondence with the Spanish governor, and it was agreed to assassinate Barbarossa and the Turks, and to put themselves under the protection and government of Spain. The day was appointed for executing this important project, when it was resolved that the Algerines should bring their fruits and herbs to the market as usual, and conceal arms under their gowns. But the persons en-

gaged in this design were too numerous to prevent its being divulged to Barbarossa, who was extremely vigilant and attentive, and soon discovered the whole matter. Most of the Algerine chiefs, who had been concerned in the conspiracy, were put to death, and their estates confiscated, and the rest had a heavy fine imposed on them. This punishment so terrified the natives, that they never afterwards attempted any thing against him or his successors.

But though Barbarossa was thus freed from domestic, he was assailed by foreign enemies. The Spaniards sent against Algiers a numerous and powerful fleet, with ten thousand land forces on board, intended to expel the Turks out of that city, and to restore the son of Eutemy to the throne of his father. This armament, however, had no sooner arrived in sight of the place of its destination, than it was attacked by a storm, and driven against the rocks, and almost every soul on board perished. This disaster tended to confirm Barbarossa in his usurpation, and contributed to increase his pride and insolence to such a degree, that he became more cruel and oppressive towards the inhabitants of both the city and country. Several tribes of Arabians were so much alarmed at his exorbitant power and tyrannical conduct, that they entered into an alliance with the king of Tenez, who marched a body of forces into the dominions of Algiers. This numerous army, however, was totally defeated by Barbarossa, who pursued the fugitive and unfortunate prince to the very gates of his capital, of which he made himself master, and obliged the inhabitants to acknowledge him as their sovereign.

Not long after he conquered the kingdom of Tremuen; but the Spaniards uniting with the Arabs in re-instating the prince on his throne, Barbarossa was attacked by a numerous and powerful army; and though the Turks fought with great valour and intrepidity, they were defeated by the enemy, and all cut to pieces.

Thus fell Barbarossa in the forty-fourth year of his age.* He raised his kingdom to a degree of splendour which it had never before known, and caused himself to be acknowledged as sovereign of Algiers by many foreign, as well as neighbouring nations. His troops were principally composed of Turkish soldiers; and it was chiefly under the banners of the crescent that he had distinguished himself in his maritime exploits. He preserved his independence; but at the same time, kept up an intimate connexion with the Porte; whither he sent presents, and from whence he obtained recruits. In short, he gave to the kingdom of Algiers almost the whole of that power and extent, which it possesses at present.

Barbarossa was succeeded by his brother Hairadin, who having held the reins of government about two years, dreaded an immediate and universal insurrection among the people. The more effectually, therefore, to secure himself in the kingdom, he applied to Selim the first, emperor of Constantinople, and offered to submit himself and his dominions to that prince, and to pay him an annual tribute, provided the grand seignior would assist him with a sufficient number of forces for maintain-

* A. D. 1517.

ing him in his station. Selim, who by the conquest of Egypt had abolished the usurpation of the Mamelukes, was highly pleased with the proposal, received Hairadin under his protection, and appointed him bashaw or viceroy over the kingdom of Algiers. In a little time also he sent a body of ten thousand janissaries, that enabled Hairadin to become absolute master both of the Arabs and Moors, who were obliged to submit to the most abject slavery, without daring to utter the least complaint against his government. He increased daily in power and wealth by the number of his corsairs, and their successful depredations at sea. The Porte also sent him every year a constant supply of recruits, with money for the payment of his troops; and in a little time Algiers became a formidable kingdom.

In the mean time, the sultan, whether from a sense of the great services Hairadin had rendered him, or perhaps from jealousy, lest he should attempt to make himself independent, raised him to the dignity of captain basha of the empire, and appointed Hassan aga, a Sardinian renegado, to succeed him as basha of Algiers. This man had no sooner taken possession of his new government, than he began to pursue his cruises and ravages on the Spanish coasts, with greater fury and success than ever, and extended them to those of the ecclesiastical state, and other parts of Italy. His depredations alarmed pope Paul III. and obliged him to apply to the emperor Charles V. and to exhort him to send a powerful fleet to suppress those frequent and cruel piracies. The emperor on his part wanted no fresh incitement; his resentment for the loss of the Spanish fortress, the indignities

which had been offered to his governor, and the hostilities which the Algerines continued still committing on the Mediterranean, together with the invitations he received from several Arabian chiefs, who promised to assist him in restoring prince Sëlim to his throne, determined him to equip a powerful fleet, and to command it in person, in order to make a conquest not only of Algiers, but of the greatest part of Barbary. His ambition suggested, that nothing could contribute to immortalize his name so much as the suppression of such a vast number of sworn enemies to Christianity, and the reducing of those countries under the standard of Christ. That nothing might be wanting to render so glorious a design successful, pope Paul published a bull with a plenary absolution of all sins, and the promise of the crown of martyrdom, to all those who should fall in battle against those infidels.

The force which Charles V. had collected together, consisted of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, mostly veterans, together with three thousand volunteers, the flower of the Spanish and Italian nobility, fond of paying court to the emperor by attending him in his favourite expedition, and eager to share in the glory which they believed he was going to reap; to these were added a thousand soldiers sent from Malta by the order of St. John, led by an hundred of its most gallant knights.

The voyage from Majorca to the African coast, was not less tedious, or full of hazard, than that which he had finished. When he approached the land, the roll of the sea, and the vehemence of the winds, would not permit the troops to disembark.

But at last, the emperor seizing a favourable opportunity, landed them without opposition not far from Algiers, and immediately advanced towards the town. To oppose this mighty army, Hascen had only eight hundred Turks, and five thousand Moors, partly natives of Africa, and partly refugees from Granada. He returned, however, a fierce and haughty answer when summoned to surrender. But with such a handful of soldiers, neither his desperate courage, nor consummate skill in war, could have long resisted forces superior to those which had defeated Barbarossa at the head of sixty thousand men, and which had reduced Tunis in spite of all his endeavours to save it.

But how far soever the emperor might think himself beyond the reach of any danger from the enemy, he was suddenly exposed to a more dreadful calamity, and one against which human prudence and human efforts avail nothing. On the second day after landing, and before he had time for any thing but to disperse some light-armed Arabs who molested his troops on their march, the clouds began to gather, and the heavens to appear with a fierce and threatening aspect. Towards evening, rain began to fall, accompanied with violent wind; and the rage of the tempest increasing during the night, the soldiers who had brought nothing ashore but their arms, remained exposed to all its fury, without tents or shelter, or cover of any kind. The ground was soon so wet that they could not lie down on it; their camp being in a low situation was overflowed with water, and they sunk in every step to the ankles in mud; while the wind blew with such impetuosity, that to prevent their

falling, they were obliged to thrust their spears into the ground, and to support themselves by taking hold of them. Hascen was too vigilant an officer to allow an enemy in such distress to remain unmolested. About the dawn of morning, he sallied out with soldiers, who having been screened from the storm under their own roofs, were fresh and vigorous. A body of Italians who were stationed nearest the city, dispirited and benumbed with cold, fled at the approach of the Turks. The troops at the post behind them discovered greater courage; but as the rain had extinguished their matches, and wet their powder, their muskets were useless, and having scarcely strength to handle their other arms, they were soon thrown into confusion. Almost the whole army, with the emperor himself in person, was obliged to advance before the enemy could be repulsed, who, after spreading such general consternation, and killing a considerable number of men, retired at last in good order.

But all feeling or remembrance of this loss and danger were quickly obliterated by a more dreadful as well as affecting spectacle. It was now broad day; the hurricane had abated nothing of its violence, and the sea appeared agitated with all the rage of which that destructive element is capable; all the ships, on which alone the whole army knew that their safety and subsistence depended, were seen driven from their anchors, some dashing against each other, some beat to pieces on the rocks, many forced ashore, and not a few sinking in the waves. In less than an hour fifteen ships of war, and an hundred and forty transports with eight thousand men, perished; and such of the unhappy crews as

escaped the fury of the seas, were murdered without mercy by the Arabs, as soon as they reached land. The emperor stood in silent anguish and astonishment beholding this fatal event, which at once blasted all his hopes of success, and buried in the depths the vast stores which he had provided, as well for annoying the enemy, as for subsisting his own troops. He had it not in his power to afford them any other assistance or relief than by sending some troops to drive away the Arabs, and thus delivering a few who were so fortunate as to get ashore from the cruel fate which their companions had met with. At last the wind began to fall, and to give some hopes that as many ships might escape, as would be sufficient to save the army from perishing by famine, and transport them back to Europe. But these were only hopes; the approach of evening covered the sea with darkness; and it being impossible for the officers, aboard the ships which had outlived the storm, to send any intelligence to their companions who were ashore, they remained during the night in all the anguish of suspense and uncertainty. Next day, a boat dispatched by Doria, made shift to reach land, with information that having weathered out the storm, to which, during fifty years knowledge of the sea, he had never seen any equal in fierceness and horror, he had found it necessary to bear away with his shattered ships to Cape Metafuz. He advised the emperor, as the face of the sky was still lowering and tempestuous, to march with all speed to that place, where the troops could re-embark with greater ease.

Whatever comfort this intelligence afforded

Charles, from being assured that part of his fleet had escaped, was balanced by the new cares and perplexity in which it involved him with regard to his army. Metafuz was at least three days march from his present camp; all the provisions which he had brought ashore at his first landing were now consumed; his soldiers, worn out with fatigue, were hardly able for such a march, even in a friendly country; and being dispirited by a succession of hardships, which victory itself would scarcely have rendered tolerable, they were in no condition to undergo new toils. But the situation of the army was such, as allowed not one moment for deliberation, nor left it in the least doubtful what to choose. They were ordered instantly to march, the wounded, the sick, and the feeble, being placed in the centre; such as seemed most vigorous were stationed in the front and rear. Then the sad effects of what they had suffered began to appear more manifestly than ever, and new calamities were added to all those which they had already endured. Some could hardly bear the weight of their arms; others, spent with the toil of forcing their way through deep and almost impassable roads, sunk down and died; many perished by famine, as the whole army subsisted chiefly on roots and berries, or the flesh of horses, killed by the emperor's order, and distributed among the several battalions; many were drowned in brooks, which were swollen so much by the excessive rains, that in passing them they waded up to the chin; not a few were killed by the enemy, who, during the greatest part of their retreat, alarmed, harassed, and annoyed them night and day. At last they arrived at Metafuz and

the weather being now so calm as to restore their communication with the fleet, they were supplied with plenty of provisions, and cheered with the prospect of safety.

During this dreadful series of calamities, the emperor discovered great qualities, many of which a long continued flow of prosperity had scarcely afforded him an opportunity of displaying. He appeared conspicuous for firmness and constancy of spirit, for magnanimity, fortitude, humanity, and compassion. He endured as great hardships as the meanest soldier; he exposed his own person, wherever danger threatened; he encouraged the desponding; visited the sick and wounded; and animated all by his words and example. When the army embarked, he was among the last who left the shore, although a body of Arabs hovered at no great distance, ready to fall on the rear. By these virtues, Charles atoned in some degree, for his obstinacy and presumption in undertaking an expedition so fatal to his subjects.

The calamities which attended this unfortunate enterprise did not end here; for no sooner were the forces got on board, than a new storm arising, though less furious than the former, scattered the fleet, and obliged them separately, to make towards such ports in Spain or Italy as they could first reach; thus spreading the account of their disasters, with all the circumstances of aggravation and horror, which their imagination, still under the influence of fear, suggested. The emperor himself, after escaping great dangers, and being forced into the port of Bugia in Africa, where he was obliged by contrary winds to remain several weeks, arrived at

last in Spain, in a condition very different from that in which he had returned from his former expedition against the infidels.

Hascen, the bashaw of Algiers, after this signal deliverance, undertook an expedition against Muley Hamed, king of Tremecen, who had submitted to Charles V. in order to be restored to his kingdom ; but this prince purchased peace for a large sum of money, and became his tributary. Soon after this Hascen died in the sixty-sixth year of his age. From this time, the various events which have occurred in Algiers, are nothing else than the jealousies and intrigues of the principal men, in order to ruin and supplant one another ; consisting of acts of cruelty, depositions, and other catastrophes of a similar nature. If we should attempt to delineate a picture of them, an uninterrupted series of the most horrid acts of tyranny and brutality would be exhibited to view. Nothing would be seen but massacres among the rich and powerful ; wretchedness and oppression among the poor ; with instances innumerable of the most inhuman vengeance and cruelty against the relatives and partisans of the princes assassinated. Confiscations, imprisonment, and persecution, are extremely frequent ; and often at the end of a month, and even of a week, the reigning prince has suffered a fate similar to that of his predecessor, and exchanged his throne for a prison or a grave ; insomuch that a new revolution has often brought back the same scenes of madness and of cruelty. Such, added to the piratical expeditions at sea, would form the principal part of the history of each prince's reign. We shall proceed, therefore, to enumerate the principal attempts

made by the European powers to chastise these insolent pirates of Algiers.

After the disastrous attempt of Charles V. [the next of any consequence was projected and executed by one John Gascon, a native of Valentia; which, if it had taken effect, would have occasioned the destruction of all the corsairs, and an infinite deal of mischief. It was no less than to surprise the whole piratic navy in the bay, and set them all on fire in the dead of night. He had obtained not only king Philip II.'s permission, but proper vessels, mariners, fire-works, and all other materials necessary for the execution of his plot.

With these he set sail for Algiers, in the beginning of October, when most, if not all the ships, lay at anchor in the harbour, and sailed near enough, unsuspected, to reconnoitre every particular with his own eyes. He advanced to the very Mole-gate, and dispersed his men with their fire-works; but they were so ill mixed, that they could not with all their art make them take fire. Gascon, by way of bravado, gave three loud knocks at the Mole-gate with the pommel of his dagger, which he left sticking in it as a token of his intrepidity. He had the good fortune to perform this feat unobserved; but it was not so with his men, who, finding their endeavours unsuccessful, began to make such a bustle as quickly alarmed the guard posted on the adjacent bastion; from which the uproar spread itself through every part of the garrison. Gascon finding himself thus frustrated, and in the utmost danger, had no other way left but to ply his oars and sails, and get away with all possible haste.

By this time the bashaw, being apprised of the

design, ordered four of his best gallies to go in pursuit of the Spaniard. The brigantines had made such speed in their retreat, that they found themselves twenty leagues off; and thinking themselves now past all danger, began to slacken their oars, and take some rest. They had not long enjoyed this respite, before that in which Gascon was, perceived one of the four galliots above mentioned making all the sail they could after them, and gaining on them every minute; so that they were again forced to ply their oars with the utmost vigour; but notwithstanding all their efforts, they were overtaken and forced to surrender.

The captain who commanded the galliot was a Greek renegado, named Della Rais, who was no sooner apprised that Gascon, the captain and contriver of that design, was in his possession, than he immediately tacked about for Algiers, without troubling himself farther about the rest, rightly judging that he had got the prize which was most agreeable to Mahamed bashaw. Accordingly, as soon as he was delivered up into his hands, Mahamed ordered a gibbet of considerable height to be erected on the spot where he landed, on which he was hoisted, and hung by the feet, that he might die in the most exquisite torture; and to shew his resentment and contempt of the king his master, he ordered his commission to be fastened to his toes.

The sentence was punctually executed, and the bashaw's severity highly applauded by the exasperated Turks, whilst the prisoner bore this dreadful punishment with the patience and constancy of a martyr. He had not however hung long in that excruciating misery, when Della Rais, the renegado

captain, who had taken him, came at the head of a number of other corsair captains to Mahamed bashaw, and in the strongest terms, represented to him the injustice and cruelty of condemning prisoners of war to such dreadful punishments, alleging that it was the ready way to provoke the Spaniards, and other enemies, to make the same reprisals; so that it might be one day their fate to be treated in the same inhuman manner, unless he immediately ordered his prisoner to be taken down. They added, that the stratagem which he had contrived was no more than what one nation had a right to practise against another, with which they were at war, and what they themselves would gladly try against any enemy, were it in their power. They at length prevailed on the bashaw to comply with their request; and Gascon was not only taken down, but conveyed into the royal bagnio, where he was carefully attended by some Christian surgeons, and visited out of curiosity by people of all sorts and persuasions; but it was not it seems his fate to escape so well.

Great murmurings arose among the people, which made the bashaw repent of his lenity: some Moors pretending to be just arrived from Spain, affirmed that it was the common talk and belief there, that the Algerines dared not hurt a hair of Gascon's head, lest their armada should come and blow their town into the bottom of the sea. The too credulous minister was so exasperated at this report, that he ordered the unhappy Valentian to be hoisted up by a pulley to the top of the execution wall, and let down again upon the chingham or hook; which in his fall, luckily took hold of him by the belly, and gave

him such a mortal wound, that he expired without the least groan : nor did the bashaw's resentment stop there ; for he ordered the body to hang *in terrorem*, as it actually did, till being partly wasted, some slaves ventured to take it down in the night, and buried it privately in the Christian cemetery, without the western gate. Thus ended the ill-timed project of the unfortunate John Gascon, which yet hath procured him a place among the Spanish martyrs.

After an attack in 1601 by the Spaniards, and in 1617 by the French ; in 1620 the English sent an expedition against them, under the command of Sir Robert Mansell ; but it turned out so defective in its operation, as to leave no impression on the mind of the Algerines except a stronger feeling of their own importance, and a determination to plunder the vessels of every nation, setting the whole of them at defiance. In 1635, the daring obstinacy of these nautical intruders operated so strongly on the minds of some spirited young men in France, as to produce very whimsical effects. Four brothers, descended from a respectable family, undertook to chastise the insolence of the pirates by reprisal ; they fitted out a frigate of ten guns, which they manned with one hundred volunteers, young men possessed by their own Quixotic spirit, and thirty-six seamen. Their first exploit was the taking an Algerine coaster, laden with wine ; by which they were so elated, as to attempt two large Algerines well manned, one of twenty and the other of twenty-four guns. The Algerines however poured a most destructive fire upon them, which was sustained with great courage, when some other Algerines

came up, and the Frenchmen were compelled to surrender, the crew being carried into hard captivity; from which they could only be redeemed by a heavy ransom after five years.

A French fleet, in the year 1652, was driven by stress of weather to Algiers; and whilst there the admiral thought proper to demand the release of every Frenchman confined there, which being refused, he immediately seized the Turkish Viceroy and his Cadi, with their whole retinue. This so exasperated the Algerines, that they instantly besieged the Bastion of France, a fort on their coasts which had been erected by Louis XIII. and made six hundred prisoners.

In the year 1655, the brave Admiral Blake paid a visit to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to renew the treaty with England, and to desist from all violence towards the English; after which he presented himself before Tunis, and having there made the same demands, the sovereign of that republic bade him look to the castles of Porto Forina and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake needed not to be roused by such a bravado; he drew his ships close up to the castles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery; he sent a numerous detachment of sailors in their long boats into the harbour, and burned every ship which lay there.

This bold action, which its very temerity, perhaps, rendered safe, was executed with little loss, and filled all that part of the world with the renown of English valour. The Algerines long resented the ill-advised, as well as unsuccessful attempt which Admiral Mansel made on their capital and navy; from which time they hardly ever ceased

annoying the English at sea, and wreaking their revenge on as many of their vessels as fell into their hands. It was not till toward the latter end of the reign of King Charles II. that the British nation obtained from them that lasting alliance, which with some renewals, additions, and alterations, hath subsisted to this day.

They had for some time committed such outrages on the coasts of Provence and Languedoc, that Louis XIV. had ordered a considerable fleet to be fitted out, in order to suppress and crush them, and revive the commerce which their depredations at sea, in conjunction with the corsairs of Tripoli, had in a great measure destroyed.

The marquis Du Quesne, vice-admiral of France, whose name had already become formidable to all the piratical states, was at the head of this expedition, and began it by giving chase to several Tripolitan gallies, who had the good fortune to out-row him, and shelter themselves in the island of Scio, which belonged to the Turks; yet this consideration did not prevent him pursuing them thither, and making such terrible fire upon them, as quickly shattered and sunk fourteen of their vessels, besides battering the walls and other works of the castle.

He only intended to intimidate, and not fall out with, the Algerines; but when he found that they still continued their outrages on the French coasts, he sailed in the month of August of the following year to their capital, which he bombarded and cannonaded with such fury, that in a little time the whole town was in flames. The great mosque was

battered down, and the greatest part of the houses reduced to a heap of ruins; insomuch, that the affrighted inhabitants were on the point of abandoning the place; when on a sudden, the wind chopped about, and obliged him to return to Toulon. As soon as the storm was over, the douwan assembled in a tumultuous manner, and immediately ordered as many of their gallies and galliots as could be got ready, in spite of the roughness of the sea, to sail forthwith for the coasts of Provence; where they committed the most dreadful ravages, killing, burning, and destroying all that came in their way, and brought off a vast number of captives. As soon as the news of this fresh insult arrived at the French court, a new armament was ordered to be got ready with all expedition, at Toulon and Marseilles, of which the Algerines having got timely notice, the douwan immediately ordered the walls of the town and other fortifications to be repaired, and the mole and haven to be put into the best state of defence, that the shortness of the time would allow.

In May following the French squadron cast anchor before Algiers; where the Vice-admiral Du Quesne was joined by the Marquis D'Affranville, at the head of five other stout vessels; upon whose arrival, a council being called, they resolved to bombard the town the next morning. Accordingly a hundred bombs were thrown into it on that day, which made terrible execution, whilst the besieged plyed their cannon against them, without doing them any considerable damage. Next night bombs were again thrown into it in such number, that the

Dey's palace, and other great edifices, were almost destroyed ; some of their batteries were dismounted, and several vessels sunk in the port.

This dreadful havoc quickly determined Hascen, the Dey, and the whole soldiery, as well as the Turkish bashaw, to sue for peace ; upon which, father Vacher, who acted then at Algiers in quality of French consul, was immediately dispatched to the French admiral, and with him a Turkish delegate, with the latter of whom the Admiral readily treated, but refused to admit the former. In this conference the Marquis insisted upon an immediate surrender of all Christian captives, that had been taken fighting under the French flag, which demand was readily granted. One hundred and forty-two of them were brought to him the next day, with a promise of sending him the remainder, as soon as they could be got together from the different parts of the country, whither they were dispersed ; a promise which being accordingly performed, he consented to treat with them about a peace.

He sent a few days after, the commissary-general of his squadron, and one of his engineers into the town ; but with express orders to insist upon the delivery of all the rest of their French captives, none excepted, and of all the effects they had taken from the French, and upon their sending him the famed Mezomorto, their admiral, and Hali Rais, one of their captains, as hostages.

This last demand failed not to embarrass the Dey, who proposed it to the douwan. Mezomorto fell into a violent passion, and told that assembly, that the cowardice of those that sat at the helm had

occasioned the ruin of Algiers; but that, for his part, he never would consent to deliver up any thing that had been taken from the French. He went immediately from thence to the soldiery, whom he acquainted with what had passed, and so exasperated them against the Dey, that they unanimously resolved to murder him; a resolution which they executed that very night, as he was going his round.

Next day Mezomorto caused himself to be elected Dey by the soldiery and people; then cancelled all the articles of peace that had been agreed on, and ordered the bloody standard to be displayed on the city walls. The hostilities were now renewed with greater fury than ever on both sides. The French admiral kept pouring in such volleys of bombs, that in less than three days, the greater part of the city was reduced to ashes; and the fire burned with such vehemence, that the sea was enlightened with it above two leagues. Mezomorto, unmoved at all these disasters, and the vast number of the slain, whose blood ran in rivulets along the streets, or rather grown furious and desperate, sought only how to wreak his revenge on the enemy. Not satisfied with causing all the French that were in the city to be cruelly butchered, he ordered their consul to be fastened alive to the mouth of a mortar, and shot against their navy, instead of a bomb.

This unheard of piece of inhumanity so exasperated the French admiral, that, the winds proving still favourable to him, he did not leave Algiers till he had utterly destroyed all their shipping, fortifications, buildings, and in one word, almost all the lower part, and above two thirds of the upper parts

of the city. He had no sooner taken his departure, than the Algerines began to think seriously on the most effectual means for procuring a peace with France. This motion was quite disrelished by Mezmorto; who, to avoid his predecessor's fate, disappeared on a sudden. The rest of the douwan unanimously agreed to send an embassy to Paris, to excuse and beg pardon, among other things, for the murder of the consul, which they all disavowed, declaring that the populace alone were the authors of that atrocious deed. Of this commission their envoy, Hagi Giaffer Aga Effendi, acquitted himself in the best manner he could, as may be seen by the following celebrated speech he made to that monarch on his last audience:

“ Most high, most excellent, most powerful, magnanimous, and invincible Louis XIV. emperor of the French, whom God preserve and make happy. I prostrate myself at the foot of thy sublime imperial throne, as the messenger of the joy with which our republic, and the dey my master, have concluded a peace with thy lieutenant; and of their impatient desire, that thy sublime majesty will be pleased to put thy ratifying seal to it. The force of thy ever victorious arms, and the strength of thy sword, have made them sensible of the fault which Baba Hassan committed, in declaring war against thy subjects. I am deputed hither to beg thy pardon for it, and to assure thee, in the sincerest terms, that henceforth our conduct shall be such as may deserve the friendship of the greatest emperor of the disciples of Jesus, and the only one we stand in dread of.

“ The atrocious violence committed against the person of thy consul is such, as we should judge, would prove an invincible obstacle to a peace, if thy light, which like that of the sun, penetrates all things, did not easily conceive, how far an enraged and ungovernable populace can carry their

farious resentment, in the midst of multitudes of their fellow-citizens crushed in pieces by thy bombs ; of which number they beheld their parents, brethren, and children, deprived either of life, effects, or liberty.

“ But whatever their motives were, the violence we are far from excusing or extenuating. I come to beg of thee to turn for ever away thy sacred eyes, from beholding a deed detested by all good men among us, especially those in power ; who cannot therefore be justly charged with it.

“ We hope, mighty emperor, great as Gemsehüd, opulent as Kraour, magnificent as Solyman, and magnanimous as Akemptas, that thy clemency will not reject these our earnest prayers ; and the high opinion we have of thy unparalleled generosity, gives us a kind of assurance that thou wilt order all our brethren who wear thy chains, to be set at liberty, as we ourselves have done, not only to thy subjects, but likewise to those who were under the shadow of thy august name ; that the joy for this peace may become equal and universal ; and that a much greater number of mouths may be thereby opened to celebrate thy praise. That when thy subjects return to their country, they may thankfully come and throw themselves at thy feet, while our's proclaim thy praise throughout the vast countries of Africa, and imprint in their children a veneration for thy incomparable virtues, and a due regard for the French nation.

“ This will prove the happy foundation of an eternal peace ; of which we promise an exact and religious observance on our part in all its articles ; not doubting but it will be equally observed by thy subjects, from whom thy authority claims an unlimited obedience.

“ May the almighty and gracious Creator give a blessing upon this peace, and maintain a perpetual union between the most high, most excellent, and most magnanimous emperor of the French, and the most illustrious and magnificent bashaw, dey, douwan, and the victorious armies of the republic of Algiers.”

The result of this submission was the ratification

of the peace at Paris, in the course of the following year. The joy which reigned in Algiers at the conclusion of this peace with France was so much the greater, because hitherto the Grand Seignior being at peace with France, was obliged, at least outwardly, to resent the outrages they had committed upon his coasts, and could not give them any assistance towards repairing their city and navy, without offending that monarch. But being now at full liberty to do as he pleased, it was his interest to send them what succour they needed, not only on account of the service they could do him against other Christian powers, but likewise with a view to bind them more strictly to their obedience, and raise the authority of his bashaws to its original height.

Accordingly, the Porte took care from that time to send them strenuous viceroys, with such extensive powers as should make them deserve the supplies they received. Whilst on their side, the Algerines failed not to express the most submissive regard to them, till they found themselves so well recovered from their late disasters, as to be able to resume their former spirit of independence.

It is no wonder, therefore, that they showed unusual readiness to enter into an alliance with the English at such a crisis, or that the English Admiral should obtain such advantageous terms from them, at a juncture when they stood in need of that nation's friendship and assistance.

This treaty, which have been the ground-work of all those that have since been made with them, was renewed in the second year of King James II.'s reign, by Sir William Soam, in his way to Constan-

tinople, whither he was sent as ambassador. The same may be said of that which was renewed between Chaaban Chojiah, then Dey of Algiers, and Sir Thomas Baker, five years after, in the second year of King William's reign.

But all this while it must not be supposed that the Algerines, especially the rais, or captains of their corsairs, were such strict observers of those treaties, as to let any English ships escape, whenever they could conveniently make a prize; for which they never wanted an excuse or pretence, whenever a complaint was made to their regency. Nor was it easy to obtain restitution or redress from the Deys or douwan, whose interest it was to encourage those piratical practices. The only remedy was making reprisals upon them; and it was upon some such infringement of it, that captain Beach, about nine years after the latter renewal of that treaty, attacked seven of their frigates, which he drove on shore, and burnt. The result of which action was a new revival of the peace with that republic. As for Mustapha, the then Dey, he continued still a friend to the English nation; and renewed the old treaty with Sir George Byng, afterwards Lord Torrington, in the year 1703.

But it was not till after the taking of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, by Sir George Rooke, that Great Britain could have a sufficient check upon them to oblige them to the observation of those articles. In the year 1708, they had the good fortune to retake from the Spaniards the city of Oran, or Auran, which had long been a thorn in their sides. This conquest was so important, that they immediately made it the residence of the western Bey, who had

used to reside at Tremecen, with a little army of Cologlies, and Moors, besides a strong garrison. They were at great pains to strengthen Oran with new fortifications; but notwithstanding all these precautions, it was retaken in the year 1737, and the Spaniards retained it, in spite of all the endeavours of the Dey to wrest it out of their hands.*

* About this time (1710) a circumstance occurred, which will show the reader with how little ceremony an *English Consul* has been treated by these ferocious Algerines: the punishment, however, for this offence was terrible.—“In the fourth year of Hali's reign, Mr. Thomas Thompson, the English consul at Algiers, going to the hall, where the captains of ships usually meet, was insulted by a young Moor, who jostled him on the mole, which is very narrow, instead of giving him the way; and upon his being asked, whether he intended to shove him over it, answered with great insolence, that no dog of a Christian was above him: then he gave him a box on the ear; and throwing him upon his back, clapped his knee furiously upon his breast: the captain of the port happening to be in sight, called out to him; upon which he fled, whilst the captain helped the consul up, and led him to the assembly of the sea officers. The admiral being apprized of what had happened, expressed his concern at the insult, and went forthwith, and complained of it to the Dey in the strongest terms; but having a regard for the young offender, whose father was a noted merchant, he endeavoured to extenuate the fault, and begged that he might not be punished with death. The Dey, though he promised to spare him so far, yet insisted that some punishment should be inflicted on him for the satisfaction of the consul.

“A bastinado being agreed on between them, Mr. Thompson was sent for to see justice done on the offender; and the young Moor was brought in by the grand provost, to whom the Dey sternly said, “Villain, what hast thou done!” the young Moor, with little or no concern, answered, “What have I done! I have only beaten a Christian dog for taking the wall of me, and giving me abusive language.” The Dey, in a passion, asking, whether it was true that he had treated the English consul in the shameful manner com-

The Spanish monarch, in the year 1775, determined to chastise the arrogance of the corsairs thoroughly; and for this purpose made such extensive preparations as even to create some alarm respecting their final destination. Whilst on the other hand, the Dey of Algiers left no means of defence unattended to. The whole Spanish force was at length assembled at Carthage, consisting of seven sail of the line of seventy-four guns, and eight of forty guns, thirty-two frigates of various sizes, and about twenty smaller vessels, four hundred transports, and about nineteen thousand seamen. The land force embarked consisted of twenty-two thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, four hundred pieces of artillery, and two thousand engineers, with abundant stores and ammunition; a force apparently sufficient to overwhelm the whole African continent.

This fleet was detained by contrary weather for near thirty days; and at length approaching Algiers, found every preparation made for determined resistance. Having attacked the forts, from which they suffered greatly, they succeeded in landing

plained of? he as impudently replied in the affirmative, and asked him, whether that was all he was brought before him for? at which the Dey was so exasperated, that he condemned him to receive two thousand two hundred bastinadoes, which were accordingly given in presence of the consul.

“The first thousand strokes lacerated the soles of his feet in such a manner, that if a greater number had been given, he must have died on the spot; he was therefore remanded to prison until the morrow, when he received the remaining twelve hundred strokes on his posteriors, which deprived him of his speech and senses. In this condition he was left to expire.”

about eight thousand men at four o'clock in the morning, which were soon followed by the remainder of the army, who found the hills covered with Moors eagerly desirous of engaging them. A sanguinary contest almost immediately ensued, in consequence of the bitter hatred which exists between the Spaniards and the Moors, notwithstanding the Spanish commander had strictly forbidden his troops to advance, intending first to have secured the hill for some works, and a communication with the fleet.

The turbulence of passion, however, had now leaped over all restraints, and the tremendous and disorderly fray which ensued, continued with the most horrible confusion and bloodshed for thirteen hours, when the Spaniards were compelled to retire, and notwithstanding their extreme fatigue, to take advantage of the night for re-embarking. Thus terminated, by an intemperate fury, an expedition which, if it had been wisely conducted, might have obtained for Spain the honours of a victory which could not but have been highly satisfactory to most of the powers in Europe. The failure of this attempt, whilst it wounded the national pride, cost the Spaniards eight hundred killed and two thousand wounded, among whom were many of their best officers.

Spain however, eight years afterwards, having got disengaged from her war with England, began to meditate the retrieving her honour in a new attempt for the conquest of Algiers. The marine force intended for this service was considerable, and from its nature extremely numerous; no disposition, however, appeared to hazard another army

upon that inauspicious coast; the present design being entirely confined to a severe bombardment and cannonade by sea.

The conduct of this enterprize was committed to Don Antonio Barcelo; who after a formal display of some pious or religious ceremonials, intended to obtain a blessing upon the Christian arms in their conflict with infidels, proceeded with his armament from Carthagenæ, on the 2nd of July, 1783. Through an unfortunate disposition of the winds and weather, the fleet notwithstanding the shortness of the passage, was detained for twenty-seven days at sea; a circumstance which, besides the loss of a month peculiarly chosen as favourable to the design, could not but be exceedingly untoward in many respects, encumbered as he was with a multitude of small vessels, and these crowded with them, and overlaid with artillery. The fleet did not arrive in the bay of Algiers until the 29th of July; and the sea was then too rough to admit of immediate action. The Algerines were well prepared for his reception; and discovered every indication of a bold and most determined enemy.

On the 1st of August the admiral formed his line of battle, and made the necessary dispositions for an attack; eighteen bomb-ketches, with thirteen gun-boats on their wings, composed the van; these were supported by a line of xebecks, bilanders, and other vessels of war, mostly peculiar to the Mediterranean; and these again intermixed with, or attended by, a number of boarding-boats strongly manned, and some small fire-vessels, to prevent the approach of the Algerine gallies to the battering vessels; the whole being covered by the ships of

the line and frigates of war. The cannonade and bombardment were commenced at half past two o'clock, and were continued without intermission until sunset: three hundred and eighty shells were thrown in that time, and about an equal number of shot sent; the fire being fiercely returned by the Algerine batteries through the whole time, with near eleven hundred cannon-shot, and about thirty bombs.

The attack was renewed on the following, and on every succeeding day, except one, until the 9th of the month. On that morning a council of war being held by the admiral, the exhausture of ammunition, and the growing lateness and danger of the season, were found sufficient reasons for an immediate return to Spain. In the course of these attacks, which were not unfrequently repeated on the same day, three thousand seven hundred and thirty-two bombs, and three thousand eight hundred and thirty-three cannon-shot, were discharged by the fleet against the town; and these were returned by the Algerines, with three hundred and ninety-nine shells, and eleven thousand two hundred and eighty-four cannon-shot.

This vast expenditure of ammunition produced no correspondent effect on either side; the town was indeed repeatedly set on fire, but the measures of preservation were so well adapted, and so vigorously pursued, that the flames were soon subdued. The Algerines made several bold sallies with their galleys and small vessels upon the Spanish battering line; but the superiority of fire on that side was so great, and it played from such

various directions, that they were constantly repulsed.

From this time to the signal chastisement given to Algiers by Lord Exmouth, a narrative of which will be found in our next chapter, the separate views and occupations of the different powers have induced them to tolerate the conduct of these pirates, in consequence of their partial observance of certain treaties.

Of the *recent history* of Algiers little is known, except from the statements of the American captives, who were confined there from 1793 to 1795. At that time the Dey was a Turkish soldier, named Hassan, about fifty years of age. Having insinuated himself into the favour of the reigning monarch, he gradually rose through the different offices to that of prime minister. The old Dey dying, Cedelli, a Greek, and a creature of Hassan, urged, and even ostensibly compelled him to assume the sovereignty. He prevailed; and another candidate who started up, was put to death by the bowstring. Several changes have taken place since, and the *present* Dey is said to have come into power within the last twelve months. The divan, or douwan, it appears have lost almost entirely the influence which they once possessed, and do little more than sanction the measures determined on by the Dey.

History of Tunis.

This country was scarcely recovered from its subjection to the Romans and northern Vandals, when, with the rest of Barbary, it was once more reduced under the power of the Saracens, who go-

verned it by viceroys, and established that form of administration, which continued almost five hundred years. One of these revolting, made himself master of Tunis, assumed the title of king of Africa; and from that period the capital of this kingdom vied with the most splendid cities on this continent. At length Hascen, an Arabian prince, besieged this metropolis, took it, and afterwards subdued the whole kingdom. He had not been long settled on the throne, and declared successor to the former monarch, before Mamon, his elder brother, who was kept a prisoner, made some strenuous efforts to regain his liberty, and claim his right to the crown. Mamon, however, was discovered before he effected his escape, and put to death; but a younger brother named Arashid, fled to Bucharra in Numidia, where he was kindly received. Having raised an army of Arabs, he attacked and defeated Hascen, whom he compelled to take refuge in the city of Tunis; but not having a sufficient train of artillery, he could not undertake the siege of the town. Arashid therefore having set fire to the suburbs, retreated with his troops, and implored the assistance of Barbarossa.

The latter promised to comply with his request, and conducted him to Constantinople, under pretence of procuring farther aid for him from the Porte; and it is not to be doubted but he would have obtained a numerous and powerful body of forces, had not Barbarossa traitorously insinuated, that if the troops destined for the prince, whom he affected to befriend, were placed under his command, as soon as he should make himself master of Tunis, he would render homage to the grand seig-

nior, and hold the reins of government in that kingdom as his deputy and representative. This proposal was too flattering to be rejected by the emperor, who sent Barbarossa with a strong armament against Tunis, and detained the unfortunate Arashid prisoner at Constantinople. The fleet no sooner appeared on the Barbary coast, than Hascen, who apprehended that the Tunisians would revolt against him, retired with some Arabs to a fortified castle. In the mean time, the city was full of tumult, and the inhabitants were extremely desirous of a change; the reigning prince having become detestable to his subjects by his cruelty and oppression. This being reported to Hascen, he fled from the castle in which he had taken refuge, and left the city.

The governor and principal persons of the place, not doubting but that Arashid, the king's brother, was on board of the Turkish armament, according to the assertions of Barbarossa, opened the gates of the city, and assured the commander of the troops, that the capital was entirely at his disposal. Barbarossa therefore entered Tunis, at the head of nine thousand Turks, and was received with the loud and repeated acclamations of the people: but their surprise and indignation were extreme, when they heard him mention only the grand seignior and himself, and understood that the prince they so much desired was detained a prisoner at Constantinople. They immediately assembled in arms, and attacked the Turkish forces; but were soon dispersed by a general discharge of musketry, and compelled to acknowledge Solyman as their sovereign, and Barbarossa as his viceroy.

In the mean time, the fugitive Hascen sought refuge among the Arabs, and requested the assistance of the Emperor Charles V. who complied with his solicitations, and sailed with a very numerous and powerful armament to the coast of Africa. Having landed his forces without opposition in the territories of Tunis, he attacked and took a strong fortification erected near the sea-side, which was defended with seven thousand troops, provided with ammunition, arms, and every necessary for sustaining a protracted siege. Barbarossa, sensible that the loss of Goletta and of his fleet would be followed by that of Tunis, unless he should be able to disappoint the designs of the enemy by attacking and defeating their troops before they reached the capital, resolved to hazard an engagement. He therefore convened an assembly of his Turkish officers, whom he acquainted with the imminent danger of himself and his followers, as well from the Christian army, as from the Arabs and Tunisians, that he knew were extremely disaffected to the present government. Upon which it was resolved to leave the city early next morning, and to fight the emperor. Accordingly the forces under Barbarossa marched about three miles from Tunis, and encamped on a plain called Cazar Mexevi, abounding with springs of fresh water, where the general disposed his army in battle array, and waited the approach of the enemy. An engagement ensued, in which the Christians were victorious, and the Turks fled with precipitation into the city. Barbarossa left the capital soon after, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy.

The Spanish monarch being now master of Tunis,

re-established Hascen on the throne, on condition that he should become tributary to him, and deliver up his son Mahomet, with several officers of his court, as hostages of his vassalage. To these terms Hascen acceded; but becoming more odious to the Tunisians, on account of the cruelties practised by the Spaniards, and his being subject and tributary to a Christian prince, in a little time he was under the necessity of again leaving his kingdom, and seeking assistance from Charles. But whilst he was in Sicily, consulting with the viceroy of that monarch on the most effectual means of suppressing the disorders in his kingdom, a more powerful and dangerous enemy than Barbarossa was raised up against him. This was Hascen's eldest son, named Muley Hamida, who, at the instigation of a favourite called Mahmed, took the most effectual means of dethroning his father during his absence. He propagated the report, that his father had been converted to Christianity, and that he had been taken by the Turks, and carried prisoner to Constantinople, where he would either be put to death, or imprisoned for life, on account of his apostacy.

As Hascen had become extremely odious to the Tunisians, this rumour was readily believed, and Hamida found it no difficult matter to enter the city, and take possession of the royal palace. He met, however, with an unexpected reproof from the governor, who rebuked him for so easily crediting this report, and for being in such haste to ascend the throne of his father. But Hamida persuading the people that the governor was in the interest of the Spaniards, who intended to place his brother Mahomet on the throne, they were immediately

alarmed; dreading nothing so much as being under the government of a Christian, and such that prince was now considered. By this means, the treacherous son obtained possession of his father's throne, and having made himself master of Tunis, he ordered the governor to be put to death, and like another Absalom, forced the most favourite of Hascen's wives to his incestuous embraces.

The news of this unnatural rebellion having reached the unfortunate monarch in Sicily, he hastened back into Africa, in order to prevent his son from entering into an alliance with Barbarossa. Hascen had with him only two thousand Italians, and five hundred Moors, with whom he marched directly to the capital. The Tunisians perceiving the Italians, and taking it for granted that the king had been converted to Christianity, as his son asserted, a bloody battle immediately ensued, in which the forces of Hascen were overpowered by numbers, and many of them slain. The aged and unfortunate monarch was surrounded by Hamida's troops, and carried prisoner into the capital, where he was closely confined. The next day Hascen sent to request his son to come to him, and to hear what he had to plead in his own behalf; but Hamida absolutely refused to see him, and dispatched executioners, who gave him only the choice whether he would suffer death, or his eyes put out. As he preferred the latter, he was deprived of sight, by having a red-hot lancet thrust into his eyes, and left to languish in grief and misery.

We shall not pretend to give an account of the various depositions, assassinations, and other calamities, that befel the beys of Tunis, and which

could not interest the minds of our readers. In order, however, to efface the melancholy impression which the barbarous and inhuman action we have been relating may occasion, we shall call the attention to the instructive and important lesson given by a Mahomet bey of this kingdom to an Ibrahim dey of Algiers. The former had amassed great riches; and was celebrated for his great knowledge in chemistry, and for having discovered the long sought for philosopher's stone. But it happened, notwithstanding his pretended learning, that he became disagreeable to his subjects, by whom he was dethroned. On this occasion, he had recourse to Ibrahim, and requested that he would assist him in regaining possession of his dignity and authority. To his solicitations the latter acceded, on condition that he would communicate to him the secret of which he was said to be in possession. Accordingly, when the Tunisian was re-instated in his kingdom, the Algerine demanded the fulfilment of his engagement. Mahomet, therefore, in consequence of his promise, sent to Ibrahim, spades, hoes, and other instruments of agriculture, and informed him, that these were the instruments of that *real* magic, which produces solid riches, and converts every thing into gold.

The *present sovereign* of Tunis, is called HAMOODA BEY, and is certainly an extraordinary character: he has displayed a most energetic policy, and has seated himself more firmly on the throne than any of his predecessors. He is now (1816) about fifty-five years old, and has reigned twenty-nine, a period quite unexampled in the tumultuous annals of Tunis. He has in a great measure thrown

off that dependence on the Turkish power, by which the state was formerly enthralled ; he even chooses his ministers and favourites, in preference, out of other nations. The mere vigour of his administration seems to have freed him from that dread of conspiracy and insurrection, by which former beys were perpetually haunted. His brother and his two cousins, though the rightful heirs to the throne, live on the most friendly terms with him, and partake of all his amusements.

He extends a very liberal protection to all classes of his subjects, even Christians and Jews, who, before his time, might be insulted, or killed with perfect impunity. He is indefatigable in the dispatch of business, and spends very little time in sleep, or in the harem. At seven in the morning, he generally receives the consuls of foreign nations in the hall of audience ; from eight to twelve, he sits in the hall of justice. He is supreme judge throughout his own dominions ; all his subjects from the highest to the lowest attend and plead their own cause.* Unfortunately, whenever the *Bey's personal interest* is concerned, justice is entirely out of the question ; his hand is always open for bribes from either party, and sometimes from both. Where

* Without the intervention of counsel or attorneys, the Bey's decision is as quick in delivery as in execution, for on hearing the respective parties, and examining the evidence on both sides, a sign of his hand, or indication of his head, only known to his own officers, denotes the punishment to be inflicted, whether it be death, bastinado, or imprisonment, and the aggrieved have at least the satisfaction of immediate reparation ; while this manner of executing the law, produces a most powerful sensation on the people.—*Blaquiere*.

such all-powerful motives do not interfere, he administers justice with equity, and even discovers a peculiar tact in eliciting the truth. His decisions are always given and executed with equal promptitude. Upon the whole, the security of persons and property, and the general state of society has been greatly ameliorated since his accession to power.

Hamooda Bey, indeed, might be called a good prince, were it not for his avarice, which knows no bounds, and hesitates at no means of gratification. This induces him to restrain the freedom of trade, to load it with monopolies, and often, which is worst of all, to become a *merchant himself*. He takes every opportunity of extorting money from his opulent subjects without any pretence, and by the most arbitrary exertions. The following affords a curious example of Tunisian economy. He has erected a new palace, which will, it is said, be one of the most splendid edifices in Barbary; but in order to lighten the expence, *the ground floor has been fitted up into shops*. He has given up the use of wine, in which he formerly indulged to great excess; but he is much addicted to other shameful species of debauchery.

The ministers and favourites of Hamooda are of the lowest description, both as to birth and character. The Zapatapa, or keeper of the seals, and Soliman Kiaya, commander of the army, are both Georgian slaves. The former is stained with every vice, but the latter exhibits an honourable and humane disposition, very rare in this country. The Bey's private secretary is a Christian slave; and the important and lucrative post of guardian of the slaves is held by a Neapolitan renegado.

Some curious anecdotes of Hamooda Bey, are recorded by Mr. BLAQUIERE in his entertaining and instructive "*Letters from the Mediterranean.*" We select the following:—"Hamooda, though of a severe and forbidding countenance in public, is said to be extremely facetious and familiar in private: his jokes, like those of Nero, however, are of a very cruel description; this was exemplified on one occasion since my residence in Tunis, when a boy was brought before him, who complained that a Turk had made a brutal assault on him; the latter being unable to justify himself, was sentenced to receive one thousand bastinadoes, and the *boy five hundred*. A general expression of surprise being manifested by those present, at the singularity of punishing the *boy*, his highness thought proper to give them this explanation: 'The *man*,' said his highness, 'deserves the punishment awarded for the enormity of his offence, and the *boy for having been found in such bad company !!!*'

"On another occasion, there was a Bedouin who had a hen, and his neighbour had several eggs which he was desirous of getting hatched; they accordingly agreed that the hen should hatch them, and the brood to be afterwards equally divided; but it unfortunately happened that thirteen chickens were brought forth. Sanguinary contests have often originated in trifles. It is no wonder that each of the Arabs contended who should have the odd chicken: this could not be decided on between them, and trifling as the matter may appear, they actually took the hen and her brood before his highness, who no sooner heard the story, than he sent for his cook, to whom the whole family were delivered,

and ordering the litigious Arabs to receive *fifty bastinadoes* each, significantly observed, ‘ You will henceforward know the consequence of disputing about trifles.’ ”*

For some time past, a furious war has raged between the states of Algiers and Tunis ; the former, the more powerful of the two, being ambitious of conquering its weaker neighbour. The Bey of Tunis can call out a force of from forty thousand to fifty thousand men ; but they are merely an armed mob, and scarcely present the semblance of a regular army : the Algerine troops, however, are precisely of the same description. In the spring of 1807, the two armies took the field ; that of Tunis was highly appointed, and thought of nothing less than the conquest of the Algerine Province of Constantia. The Tunisian army, however, soon threw down their arms, and the Algerines took possession of their camp, baggage, and fifteen thousand camels laden with every kind of supplies. We need scarcely add, that such combats were not attended with serious bloodshed ; they were sufficient, however, to deter these heroes from again taking the field, and the war was thenceforward carried on by petty skirmishes.

History of Tripoli.

This kingdom, like the rest of Barbary, after being freed from the Roman yoke, passed successively into the hands of the Vandals, the Saracens,

* Letters from the Mediterranean, vol. ii. p. 253.

and the sovereigns of Morocco, Fez, and Tunis, till the natives weary of their slavery and oppression, resolved to rid themselves of the tyranny, and to elect a monarch from their own number. Of these kings, nothing is recorded worthy of notice. Tripoli afterwards fell into the hands of the Arabs, who came from Egypt, and who carried away a great number of slaves, both from the kingdom and the capital. It again became subject to a king of Tunis, named Bucamen, whose tyranny and oppressions being intolerable, the Tripolitans threw off the yoke, and a second time chose a monarch from their own citizens. The newly-elected sovereign, finding himself raised from among his equals to the summit of power and greatness, acted the tyrant in his turn, and was murdered.

The natives immediately chose another monarch, against whom Ferdinand, king of Castile and Arragon, sent a powerful fleet and army, under the command of the count of Navarre, who laid siege to the capital, which he took after a vigorous assault. The sovereign of Tripoli, with his family and friends, retired into the castle, where he surrendered on honourable terms; and was sent with his wife and two sons to the Emperor Charles V. who restored him to his former dignity, on condition of his becoming tributary to him. This monarch rebuilt and repopled the place, which he continued to hold in the emperor's name, till the knights of Rhodes were expelled that island, and obliged to retire into Syracuse, when Charles bestowed on them Malta, together with the city and castle of Tripoli.

They continued in possession of the kingdom till

the reign of Solyman, who, under pretence of its having been taken during a truce, sent against it a very powerful armament under the command of Sinan Dassat, to whom were joined in the expedition the celebrated Salha Rais, and the no less famous Dragut. With this fleet Sinan sailed for Tripoli, which he attacked with all his forces, and of which, at length, he obtained possession, after it had been in the hands of the Christians above forty years. Dragut being left as governor for the Porte, strongly fortified the city and castle, and erected two fortresses, which he supplied with artillery and ammunition. By this means it became one of the strongest cities in Africa, and the general retreat of the Turkish corsairs, that infested the coasts of Italy, Sicily, Naples, and Spain. The knights, some time after, endeavoured to repossess themselves of Tripoli, but suffered a repulse from the Turks.

But at length the Turkish government becoming extremely oppressive and intolerable, on account of the avarice and tyranny of the pachas deputed by the Porte, a general revolt was excited both in the city and country, at the head of which was a certain marabon, named Sid Hajah. Not being, however, sufficiently careful in securing foreign assistance, he was attacked and defeated by the Turkish admiral, and at length assassinated by his own partisans. This revolt was no sooner subdued, than the grand seignior having sent a new governor, who was a Greek renegado, and had obtained his dignity by bribes and intrigues, he took the reins of administration into his own hands. He did not, however, render himself entirely independent of the Porte, but agreed to pay an annual tribute to the

grand seignior, as an acknowledgment of subjection. This revolution gave rise to the mixed form of government that still exists in appearance ; but it is really absolute and despotic. The Bey, who is elected by the militia, would seem to be the chief of a body of republicans ; but as he commands only slaves, he never has recourse to the divan, except on difficult conjunctures.

Such was the case of Tripoli, when its capital was bombarded by the French ; which being the most important historical circumstance within our knowledge, it shall be concisely related. Louis XIV. king of France, being highly incensed on hearing that a Tripolitan corsair had captured a ship under French colours, and that a great number of his subjects were detained in a state of slavery, in spite of the remonstrances of the consul, ordered all his officers sailing in those seas to make reprisals. Pursuant to these commands, the marquis of Anfreville, meeting with six vessels belonging to Tripoli, on the north coast of Sicily, immediately attacked them. Three of them, however, making all the sail they could, escaped unhurt ; but the rest venturing an engagement, suffered severely, and were at length obliged to flee to the island of Chios, in order to be refitted.

Commodore Du Quesne was no sooner informed of this circumstance, than he followed them with a squadron of seven sail ; and after sending a message to the aga of Chios, in which he informed him, that he only came in search of some Tripolitan pirates, who, in contempt of the most solemn treaties, had committed several flagrant outrages on the subjects of the king his master, and hoped he would not

protect such miscreants, completely blocked up the port. This message being disregarded by the aga, the commodore immediately bombarded the place with such fury, as to make dreadful havoc among the inhabitants; but was prevented from entering the harbour by a strong stoccado, which the Tripolitans had contrived to place in his way. Complaints of this hostile infringement of the French being carried to the grand seignior, almost occasioned a rupture between the two monarchs; but through the address of the French ambassador at Constantinople, the matter was at length compromised, and articles were framed so much to his advantage, that the regency of Tripoli rejected them with the strongest indications of contempt.

Upon this, Louis, who had taken care to provide a powerful armament against that republic, directed the fleet to sail for Africa, under the command of the Marshal D'Etrees, Vice-admiral of France; who being joined by two other squadrons, appeared before Tripoli on the 15th of June, 1685. The bombardment of the city instantly commenced, and a dreadful havoc being soon made, the utmost consternation and dismay prevailed among the inhabitants. They sent a venerable old man, near one hundred years of age, who had been dey of Algiers for twenty-four years, to solicit a peace on the most favourable terms he could obtain. The French commander demanded two hundred thousand crowns, as an equivalent for the captures made from his nation; and that all Christian slaves who had been taken under French colours should be restored. To these terms the regency acceded; but some delays arising from the difficulty of raising so

considerable a sum, the demand was greatly reduced, and, at length, satisfied in money, rings, and jewels. The Tripolitans set all the French slaves at liberty, and allowed the consul of their nation to enjoy peculiar privileges and exemptions; and two of the principal persons of the republic were obliged to do homage at the court of Versailles.

They landed at Toulon, and proceeded to the residence of the French monarch, from whom as suppliants they expected to experience some marks of displeasure; but they were agreeably surprised by the polite reception which they every where met with. Of the many things which seemed to excite their notice and admiration, nothing struck them so much as the *opera*. They considered the music, the actors and actresses, the decorations, machines, and dresses, as a series of enchantments, an assemblage of irresistible charms. Khalil, the chief of the embassy, who had been a corsair, was so much affected by the sight, that he exclaimed, "We should be able to defend ourselves against any enemy that might attack us, unless it were the *opera*; against which we would not contend, but immediately lay down our arms."

Without recounting the various revolutions of the state of Tripoli, we shall proceed to observe, that its most flourishing æra was the reign of Hamet the Great, at the commencement of the last century. He freed Tripoli from the Turkish yoke, in a manner worthy indeed of so barbarous an administration. He invited to a feast three hundred of their chiefs, each of whom, as they successively entered were strangled: at the same time a general massacre took place in the city. The Porte being

propitiated by presents, he was left to remain in tranquillity. He reduced to complete subjection the hitherto untractable possessors of the mountain districts of Garian and Masulata; and even succeeded in rendering Fezzan his tributary. He invited foreigners to settle in his dominions, and promoted the manufactures of woollen stuffs, Morocco-leather, &c. His popularity enabled him to render the crown hereditary in his family.

The late bashaw reigned for thirty years with great moderation and mildness; and Tripoli assumed a civilized and pacific character, very unusual in this part of the world. A most unfavourable change has taken place in his son YUSUF, the present bashaw. He began his career by murdering his elder brother, an amiable prince, in the most barbarous manner. Then surrounding himself by negro slaves and Arabs, he gained an ascendancy over the more pacific inhabitants of the city. He is represented as uniting in himself all the vices of that worst of characters, a Barbary despot.* He has in a great measure ruined commerce, by monopolizing to himself all the lucrative and important branches.

His principal minister is Sidi Hamet, who shares with his master the most decided partiality to the

* Those who have more minutely studied his character, assert that it bears a greater resemblance to that of Domitian than Nero, being more delighted with perpetrating acts of severity with his *own hand* than seeing others perform them. On a late occasion, when in one of those paroxysms of rage, to which he is so frequently subject, he struck off the head of a poor Sicilian slave, named Michele Scotta, with his own hand.—See *Blaquiere's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 87.

French, and enmity to the English. Lord Nelson, in 1798, sent a line-of-battle-ship to demand that the bashaw should for ever remove from his councils so dangerous a subject. A feigned compliance took place, but lasted only till the English ship was out of sight of Tripoli. This personage has since been raised to a higher situation,—that of minister for foreign affairs, while his creature Mustapha has been appointed captain of the port. The place of *first admiral* is held by a person bearing the name of Murat Rais, but who is in reality, a Scotsman, named Peter Lysle. Being at Tripoli in 1792, as mate of an English vessel, and accused of plundering part of the cargo, he fled to the castle, embraced Mahometanism, and received a command in the Tripoline navy. He soon distinguished himself in the capacity of a pirate, and rose by degrees to his present high situation. He is said, however, to enjoy it but little, and to sigh still for the loss of his country and his friends.

In the year 1800, the Americans waged war against Tripoli, in consequence of a vessel belonging to them having been seized, and the crew made slaves. They repeatedly attacked the harbour, and did some damage to it, but were not able to make any serious impression, or to produce any effect, besides that of impelling the tyrant to a more rigorous treatment of his captives. They then adopted a different course: they landed in Egypt, where they were joined by Hamet, the elder brother of Yusuf, the reigning bashaw, and to whom the throne rightfully belonged. The confederates having collected five hundred men, marched through the Libyan desert, and took Derne, the frontier

town of Tripoli. Notwithstanding the smallness of this force, Yusuf, alarmed by the popularity of his brother, accepted the mediation of the Danish Consul, and a treaty was concluded. The prisoners were restored at a moderate ransom, and Hamet, now abandoned, returned to Egypt.

On the 10th of August, 1815, an American squadron consisting of four frigates, a brig, and a cutter, after having made the government of Algiers pay one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and that of Tunis eighty thousand, made its appearance before *Tripoli*, where it remained till the 13th. During these three days, the Dey was compelled to pay the Americans the sum of fifty thousand dollars, which was brought on board by the barges of the Dey, accompanied with music. There was also paid an additional sum of thirty thousand dollars, as the value of the brig *Agile*, taken by the Algerines, and carried by them into the port of Tripoli; and which, upon a note from the English consul, had been released during the night. While the Americans were thus reversing the old practice, and levying contributions on the Barbary powers, a *Dutch* frigate anchored before Tripoli, from which the Dey demanded twenty thousand dollars for a peace, and five thousand of annual present. The commander refused to pay this sum, but he subscribed to an armistice for four months, and then set sail.

CHAP. IV.

Insolence and Extortion of the Algerines.—Narrative of the Insurrection and Massacre at Bona.—British Expedition against Algiers in 1816, under the command of Lord Exmouth.

AFTER the termination of the Continental war, which had absorbed every other interest, a deep feeling was excited in the BRITISH NATION for the fate of their fellow Christians who were groaning under the most horrible slavery at Algiers, and in the other Barbary states. Sicily and Sardinia, the chief sufferers, were our intimate allies; besides which, BRITAIN, *as mistress of the seas*, seemed called upon to put down a system of naval warfare and depredation, inconsistent with all those ties by which civilized nations are united together.*

Urged by this impulse, the British government, early in the year 1816, directed LORD EXMOUTH (late Sir Edward Pellew,) to sail with a squadron against Algiers and Tunis. The appearance of this armament was sufficient to induce both states to a compliance with the terms demanded, which were,

*To such an extent did the Dey of Algiers carry his exactions in the year 1802, that he received from the *European*, as well as African powers, the enormous sum of SEVEN HUNDRED AND

—peace with Sicily and Sardinia; the restoration of their captives at a moderate ransom; and an engagement in every future war, to treat prisoners in the manner customary among civilized nations: the number of Christian slaves, principally Neapolitans, Sicilians, and Sardinians, amounted to TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED!!!

Scarcely, however, had this treaty been signed, than it was violated in the most outrageous manner, by the insurrection and massacre at BONA, a small sea-port town between Tunis and Algiers, known to the Moors by the name of *Blaid el Aneb*, or the town of jujubes, from the plenty of fruit gathered in the neighbourhood. Bona was formerly rich and

TWENTY-EIGHT THOUSAND, SIX HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE POUNDS, in the following proportions!!!

	<i>Piastres.</i>
From Holland, Sweden, and Denmark	75,000
Spain	165,000
England	180,000
France	235,000
Sweden (2d contribution)	50,000
Denmark (ditto.)	112,000
Value of the Portuguese frigate, and ransom of the crew	694,000
Value of seven other ships and cargoes	120,000
75 Genoese and Neapolitan slaves	187,500

Total from Europe . . 1,818,500

From Africa.

The Beys of Titterie, Constantine, and Masceri paid	300,000
From individuals	100,000
Bey of Tunis paid 450,000 zec-mahboubes or	700,000

Total Europe, 1,818,500

Total Africa, 1,100,000

2,918,500 piastres, or 728,625*l*.

The *Piastre* is about 5*s* value.

populous, but is now poorly built and thinly inhabited : however, a great quantity of corn, wool, hides, and wax, is annually shipped from this place ; and by proper management it might be made the most flourishing city in Barbary, and by introducing fresh water, it would also become one of the most convenient and delightful. The adjacent country produces corn and fruit, and great numbers of small and large cattle, but is much exposed to the incursions of the Arabs. An extensive coral fishery is carried on at a short distance from the town.

On the 23rd of May, 1816, (Ascension Day) about seven hundred marines, belonging to the crews of the coral fishing-boats, under English and French colours, landed at Bona, on that morning to go to church ; when all on a sudden, a great number of armed Turks and Bedouins entered the church, and began to kill and slaughter all those that were not fortunate enough to effect their escape on board. It is said, that the governor endeavoured to oppose with all his force what resistance he could, but without effect. About *two hundred* were massacred, and nearly all the remainder dreadfully wounded. The British consul was assassinated, and all the houses of the Franks (Christians) pillaged and laid in ruins ; the English flag was seized and trampled under foot ; about sixty wounded persons saved themselves in their vessels, and arrived safely at Cagliari.

Lord Exmouth had already sailed, and had arrived in England before he heard of this dreadful tragedy. The utmost expedition was then employed to equip a new and more formidable armament, by which these wretches might be signally chastised

for their barbarous and infamous conduct. Accordingly, in a few weeks, Lord Exmouth again sailed, and being joined at Gibraltar by a Dutch squadron under Admiral Capellan, arrived before Algiers on the 26th of August, 1816. The interesting narrative of the attack we shall detail in the words of the noble Lord, as given in the London Gazette; because it is not only the most *authentic*, but the most elegant record of this glorious achievement. Several other accounts and anecdotes will be added, in illustration of this memorable day.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Sept. 15, 1816.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 15.—Capt. Brisbane of his Majesty's ship Queen Charlotte, arrived at this Office last night with the following dispatches from Lord Exmouth :

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, Aug. 28, 1816.

SIR,—In all the vicissitudes of a long life of public service, no circumstance has ever produced on my mind such impressions of gratitude and joy as the event of yesterday. To have been one of the humble instruments, in the hands of Divine Providence, for bringing to reason a ferocious government, and destroying for ever the insufferable and horrid system of Christian slavery, can never cease to be a source of delight, and heart-felt comfort to every individual happy enough to be employed in it. I may, I hope, be permitted, under such impressions, to offer my sincere congratulations to their lordships

on the complete success which attended the gallant efforts of his Majesty's fleet in their attack upon Algiers of yesterday; and the happy result produced from it on this day by the signature of peace.

Thus has a provoked war of two days existence, been attended by a complete victory, and closed by a renewed peace for England and her ally, the king of the Netherlands, on conditions dictated by the firmness and wisdom of his Majesty's government, and commanded by the vigour of their measures.

My thanks are justly due for the honour and confidence his Majesty's ministers have been pleased to repose on my zeal on this highly important occasion. The means were by them made adequate to my own wishes, and the rapidity of their measures speak for themselves. Not more than one hundred days since, I left Algiers with the British fleet, unsuspecting and ignorant of the atrocities which had been committed at Bona; that fleet on its arrival in England was necessarily disbanded, and another, with proportionate resources, created and equipped; and although impeded in its progress by calms and adverse winds, has poured the vengeance of an insulted nation, in chastising the cruelties of a ferocious government, with a promptitude beyond example, and highly honourable to the national character, eager to resent oppression or cruelty, whenever practised upon those under their protection.

Would to God that in the attainment of this object I had not deeply to lament the severe loss of so many gallant officers and men; they have profusely bled in a contest which has been peculiarly

marked by proofs of such devoted heroism, as would rouse every noble feeling, did I dare indulge in relating them. Their lordships will already have been informed by his Majesty's sloop *Jasper*, of my proceedings up to the 24th instant, on which day I broke ground from Gibraltar, after a vexatious detention, by a foul wind, of four days.

The fleet, complete in all its points, with the addition of five gun-boats fitted at Gibraltar, departed in the highest spirits, and with the most favourable prospect of reaching the port of their destination in three days; but an adverse wind destroyed the expectation of an early arrival, which was the more anxiously looked for by myself, in consequence of hearing the day I sailed from Gibraltar, that a large army had been assembled, and that very considerable additional works were throwing up, not only on both flanks of the city, but also immediately about the entrance of the Mole: from this I was apprehensive that my intention of making that point my principal object of attack, had been discovered to the Dey by the same means he had heard of the expedition. This intelligence was on the following night greatly confirmed by the *Prometheus*, which I had dispatched to Algiers some time before, to endeavour to get away the consul. Capt. Dashwood had with difficulty succeeded in bringing away, disguised in Midshipman's uniform, his wife and daughter, leaving a boat to bring off their infant child, coming down in a basket with the surgeon, who thought he had composed it; but it unhappily cried in the gate-way, and in consequence, the surgeon, three midshipmen, in all eighteen persons, were seized and confined as slaves

in the usual dungeons. The child was sent off next morning by the Dey, and as a solitary instance of his humanity, it ought to be recorded by me.

Capt. Dashwood further confirmed, that about forty thousand men had been brought down from the interior, and all the Janissaries called in from distant garrisons, and that they were indefatigably employed in their batteries, gun-boats, &c. and every where strengthening the sea-defences.

The Dey informed Capt. Dashwood he knew perfectly well the armament was destined for Algiers, and asked him if it was true; he replied, if he had such information, he knew as much as he did, and probably from the same source—the public prints. The ships were all in port, and between forty and fifty gun and mortar-boats ready, with several more in forward repair. The Dey had closely confined the consul, and refused either to give him up, or promise his personal safety; nor would he hear a word respecting the officers and men seized in the boats of the *Prometheus*.

From the continuance of adverse winds and calms, the land to the westward of Algiers was not made before the 26th, and the next morning at day-break the fleet was advanced in sight of the city, though not so near as I had intended. As the ships were becalmed, I embraced this opportunity of dispatching a boat, under cover of the *Severn*, with a flag of truce, and the demands I had to make, in the name of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the Dey of Algiers, (of which the accompanying are copies,) directing the officer to wait two or three hours for the Dey's answer, at which time, if no re-

ply was sent, he was to return to the flag-ship ; he was met near the Mole by the captain of the port, who, on being told the answer was expected in one hour, replied, that it was impossible. The officer then said, he would wait two or three hours ; he then observed, two hours was quite sufficient.

The fleet at this time, by the springing-up of the sea-breeze, had reached the bay, and were preparing the boats and flotilla for service, until near two o'clock, when, observing my officer was returning with the signal flying, that no answer had been received, after a delay of upwards of three hours, I instantly made a signal to know if the ships were all ready, which being answered in the affirmative, the Queen Charlotte bore up, followed up by the fleet, for their appointed stations ; the flag, leading in the prescribed order, was anchored in the entrance of the Mole, at about fifty yards distance. At this moment not a gun had been fired, and I began to suspect a full compliance with the terms which had been so many hours in their hands ; at this period of profound silence, a shot was fired at us from the Mole, and two at the ships to the northward then following ; this was promptly returned by the Queen Charlotte, who was then lashing to the mainmast of a brig, fast to the shore in the mouth of the Mole, and which we had steered for, as the guide to our position. Thus commenced a fire as animated and well supported, as I believe was ever witnessed, from a quarter before three until nine, without intermission, and which did not cease altogether until half-past eleven. The ships immediately following me were admirably and coolly taking their stations, with a precision even

beyond my most sanguine hope; and never did the British flag receive, on any occasion, more zealous and honourable support. To look further on the line than immediately round me was perfectly impossible, but so well grounded was my confidence in the gallant officers I had the honour to command, that my mind was left perfectly free to attend to other objects; and I knew them in their stations only by the destructive effect of their fire upon the walls and batteries to which they were opposed.

I had about this time the satisfaction of seeing Vice-admiral Van Capellan's flag in the station I had assigned to him, and soon after, at intervals, the remainder of his frigates, keeping up a well supported fire on the flanking batteries he had offered to cover us from, as it had not been in my power, for want of room, to bring him in the front of the Mole.

About sun-set I received a message from Rear-admiral Milne, conveying to me the severe loss the Impregnable was sustaining, having then one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, and requesting I would, if possible, send him a frigate to divert some of the fire he was under. The Glasgow, near me, immediately weighed, but the wind had been driven away by the cannonade, and she was obliged to anchor again, having obtained rather a better position than before.

I had at this time sent orders to the explosion-vessel, under the charge of Lieut. Fleming and Mr. Parker, by Capt. Reade, of the engineers, to bring her into the Mole; but the rear-admiral having thought she would do him essential service if exploded under the battery in his front, I sent orders

to this vessel to that effect, which were executed. I desired also the rear-admiral might be informed, that many of the ships being now in flames, and certain of the destruction of the whole, I considered I had executed the most important part of my instructions, and should make every preparation for withdrawing the ships, and desired he would do so as soon as possible with his division.

There were awful moments during the conflict which I cannot now attempt to describe, occasioned by firing the ships so near us ; and I had long resisted the eager entreaties of several around me to make the attempt upon the outer frigate, distant about one hundred yards, which at length I gave into, and Major Gosset, by my side, who had been eager to land his corps of miners, pressed me most anxiously for permission to accompany Lient. Richards in this ship's barge. The frigate was instantly boarded, and in ten minutes in a perfect blaze. A gallant young midshipman in rocket-boat, No. 8, although forbidden, was led by his ardent spirit to follow in support of the barge, in which he was desperately wounded, his brother officer killed, and nine of his crew. The barge by rowing more rapidly, had suffered less, and lost but two.

The enemy's batteries around my division were about ten o'clock silenced, and in a state of perfect ruin and dilapidation ; and the fire of the ships was reserved as much as possible, to save powder, and reply to a few guns now and then bearing upon us, although a fort on the upper angle of the city, on which our guns could not be brought to bear, continued to annoy the ships by shot and shells during the whole time.

Providence at this interval gave to my anxious wishes the usual land-wind, common in this bay, and my expectations were completed. We were all hands employed in warping and towing off, and by the help of the light air, the whole were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shells, about two in the morning, after twelve hours incessant labour.

The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket-boats, under the direction of their respective artillery officers, shared, to the full extent of their power, in the honours of this day, and performed good service; it was by their fire all the ships in the port (with the exception of the outer frigate) were in flames, which extended rapidly over the whole arsenal, store-houses, and gun-boats, exhibiting a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest no pen can describe.

The sloops of war which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line, and prepare for their retreat, performed not only that duty well, but embraced every opportunity of firing through the intervals, and were constantly in motion. The shells from the bombs were admirably well thrown by the Royal Marine Artillery; and although thrown directly across and over us, not an accident, that I know of, occurred to any ship. The whole was conducted in perfect silence, and such a thing as a cheer I never heard in any part of the line; and that the guns were well worked and directed, will be seen for many years to come, and remembered by these barbarians for ever. The conducting this ship to her station by the masters of the

fleet and ship, excited the praise of all. The former has been my companion in arms for more than twenty years. Having thus detailed, although but imperfectly, the progress of this short service, I venture to hope, that the humble and devoted services of myself and the officers and men of every description I have the honour to command, will be received by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent with his accustomed grace. The approbation of our services by our Sovereign, and the good opinion of our country, will, I venture to affirm, be received by us all with the highest satisfaction.

If I attempted to name to their lordships the numerous officers who, in such a conflict, have been at different periods more conspicuous than their companions, I should do injustice to many; and I trust there is no officer in the fleet I have the honour to command, who will doubt the grateful feelings I shall ever cherish for their unbounded and unlimited support. Not an officer nor man confined his exertions within the precise limits of their own duty; all were eager to attempt services which I found more difficult to restrain than excite; and no where was this feeling more conspicuous than in my own captain, and those officers immediately about my person. My gratitude and thanks are due to all under my command, as well as to Vice-admiral Capellan, and the officers of the squadron of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands; and I trust they will believe that the recollection of their services will never cease but with my life. In no instance have I ever seen more energy and zeal; from the youngest midshipman to the highest rank, all seem-

ed animated by one soul, and of which I shall with delight bear testimony to their lordships, whenever that testimony can be useful.

I have confided this dispatch to Rear-admiral Milne, my second in command, from whom I have received, during the whole service intrusted to me, the most cordial and honourable support. He is perfectly informed of every transaction of the fleet, from the earliest period of my command, and is fully competent to give their lordships satisfaction on any points which I may have overlooked, or have not time to state. I trust I have obtained from him his esteem and regard, and I regret I had not sooner been known to him.

The necessary papers, together with the defects of the ships, and the return of killed and wounded, accompany this dispatch, and I am happy to say, Capts. Ekins and Coode are doing well, as also the whole of the wounded. By accounts from the shore, I understand, the enemy's loss in killed and wounded is between six and seven thousand men. In recommending my officers and fleet to their lordships' protection and favour, I have the honour, &c.

EXMOUTH.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 24.—Rear adm. Sir David Milne has arrived at this office with the original dispatches of Lord Exmouth, relative to his attack on Algiers, the duplicates of which have already appeared in the Gazette Extraordinary of the 15th instant. He is also the bearer of dispatches from his lordship, detailing his further proceedings, of which the following is the substance:

On the 28th of August, Treaties of Peace were

signed by the Dey with his Majesty, and with his Majesty the King of the Netherlands. On the same day also was signed an additional article, or declaration, for the abolition of Christian slavery, to the following effect :

“ Declaration of his Most Serene Highness Omar, Bashaw, Dey and Governor of the Warlike City and Kingdom of Algiers, made and concluded with the Right Hon. Edward Baron Exmouth, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Britannic Majesty's Fleet, and Commander in Chief of his said Majesty's ships and vessels employed in the Mediterranean.

“ In consideration of the deep interest manifested by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England for the termination of Christian slavery, his Highness the Dey of Algiers, in token of his sincere desire to maintain inviolable his friendly relations with Great Britain, and to manifest his amicable disposition and high respect towards the powers of Europe, declares, that in the event of future wars with any European power, not any of the prisoners shall be consigned to slavery, but treated with all humanity, as prisoners of war, until regularly exchanged, according to European practice in like cases, and that at the termination of hostilities they shall be restored to their respective countries without ransom ; and the practice of condemning Christian prisoners of war to slavery is hereby formerly and for ever renounced.

“ Done in duplicate, in the warlike city of Algiers, in the presence of Almighty God, the 28th day of August, in the year of Jesus Christ, 1816,

and in the year of the Hegira, 1231, and the 6th day of the moon Shawal.

(Signed)

(The Dey's seal.)

EXMOUTH, (L. S.)

H. M'DOUELL, (L. S.)"

The Dey also, in the presence of his Divan, apologized to the British consul for the personal restraint which had been imposed upon him during the late transactions; and he also paid to the consul a sum of three thousand dollars, as a remuneration for depredations committed on his residence after his imprisonment. After the treaties and article before mentioned had been negociated, and that the Dey had refunded 382,500 dollars, which he had lately received from the governments of Naples and Sardinia, and had released one thousand and eighty-three Christian slaves who were at Algiers, it came to the knowledge of Lord Exmouth, that two Spaniards, the one a merchant, and the other the vice-consul of that nation, had not been released, but were still held by the Dey in very severe custody, on pretence that they were prisoners for debt.

The inquiries which his lordship felt himself called on to make into these cases, satisfied him that the confinement of the vice-consul was groundless and unjustifiable; and he therefore thought himself authorized to demand his release, under the articles of the agreement for the deliverance of all Christian prisoners. It appeared that the merchant was confined for an alleged debt, on the score of a contract with the Algerine government; but the circumstance under which the contract was

stated to have been forced on the individual, and the great severity of the confinement which he suffered, determined his lordship to make an effort in his favour also. This his lordship did, by requesting his release from the Dey, offering himself to guarantee to the Dey the payment of any sum of money which the merchant should be found to owe to his Highness. The Dey having rejected this demand and offer, his lordship, still unwilling to have recourse to extremities, and the renewal of hostilities, proposed that the Spaniards should be released from irons, and the miserable dungeons in which they were confined; and that they should be placed in the custody of the Spanish Consul, or at least, that the consul should be permitted to afford them such assistance and accommodation as was suitable to their rank in life.

These propositions the Dey also positively refused; and Lord Exmouth then felt that the private and pecuniary nature of the transactions for which these persons were confined, must be considered as a pretence for the continuance of a cruel and oppressive system of slavery, the total and *bona fide* abolition of which his instructions directed him to insist upon. He therefore acquainted the Dey, that his Highness having rejected all the fair and equitable conditions proposed to him on this point, his lordship had determined to insist on the unconditional release of the two Spaniards. He therefore desired an answer, yes, or no; and, in the event of the latter, stated, that he would immediately recommence hostilities; and his lordship made preparations for that purpose. These measures had the desired effect, and the two persons were released

from a long and severe captivity ; so that no Christian prisoner remained at Algiers at his lordship's departure, which took place on the evening of the 3rd instant, with all the ships under his orders.

His lordship states, that Rear-admiral Sir C. Penrose had joined in the Ister on the 28th, and that he had employed the rear-admiral in his discussions with the Dey relative to the Spaniards ; and his lordship gives the highest praise to the prudence, firmness, and ability with which Sir C. Penrose conducted himself on the occasion.

His lordship's last letters are dated from Gibraltar, the 12th instant, and announce his intention very shortly to sail on his return to England.—The refunded ransoms have been sent to the Neapolitan and Sardinian governments ; and the slaves released have been forwarded in British transports to their respective countries.

Dutch Official Account of the Battle of Algiers.

[FROM THE STAAS COURANT EXTRAORDINARY.]

The Hague, Sept. 16, 1816.

LIEUTENANT Arriens, of the naval service, this morning arrived from the bay of Algiers, which he left on the 1st of September, at the office of the Marine Department, with dispatches from Vice-admiral Cappellan, of the following contents :

Hon. Sir,—Lord Exmouth, during his short stay at Gibraltar, having increased his force with some gun-boats, and made all his arrangements, on the 14th of August the united squadrons put to sea, consisting of the following vessels:—Queen Charlotte, 110 guns; impregnable, 96; Superb, 74; Midden, 74; Albion, 74; Leander, 50; Severn, 40; Glasgow, 40; Granicus, 36; Hebrus, 36; Heron, 18; Mutine, 18; Prometheus, 18; Cordelia, 10; Britomart, 10; Express, 8; Falmouth, 8; Belzebub, bomb; Fury, idem; Hecla, idem; Infernal, idem; (Dutch) Melampus, 44; Frederica, 44; Dageraad, 30; Diana, 44; Amstel, 44; and Eendragt, 18.

On the 10th, off Cape de Gate, the Prometheus corvette joined the fleet. Capt. Dashwood reported, that he succeeded in getting the family of the British consul at Algiers on board by stratagem; but that their flight being too soon discovered, the consul, together with two boats' crew of the Prometheus, had been arrested by the Dey, who, having already received a report of this second expedition, had made all preparations for an obstinate opposition, and summoning the inhabitants of the interior, had already assembled more than fifty thousand men, both Moors and Arabs, under the walls of Algiers. In consequence of a calm, and afterwards by strong easterly winds, we were not before the bay of Algiers until the 27th of Aug. in the morning. Lord Exmouth immediately sent by a flag of truce, a written proposal to the Dey, containing in substance, that the late atrocities at Bona having broken all former connections, he demanded in the name of the Prince Regent—

1. The immediate delivering up of all Christian slaves without ransom.

2. The restitution of all the money which had already been received for the Sardinian and Neapolitan captives.

3. A solemn declaration from the Dey, that he bound himself, like those of Tripoli and Tunis, to respect the rights of humanity, and in future wars to treat all prisoners according to the usages of European nations.

4. Peace with his Majesty the King of the Netherlands on the like terms as with the Prince Regent.

On all these articles his lordship expected an answer, yes or no, or hostilities must immediately commence.

His lordship, on whom I waited in the morning, was afraid that he should that day be obliged to rest satisfied with coming to anchor, and confine himself for the night to an attack by bomb vessels, gun and rocket boats.—Scarcely had I returned on board my vessel when the sea-breeze sprung up, and the fleet bore into the bay with press of sail: the four bomb vessels immediately took their station before the town, and every thing was prepared for the attack. Shortly afterwards, his lordship communicated to me, by private signal, “I shall attack immediately, if the wind does not fail.” Upon this I immediately made signal to form line of battle in the order agreed upon, in the supposition that all the officers must have been well acquainted with the position of the forts and batteries that fell to our share, before the attack was to begin; but as it appears that the signal was not well understood, I resolved to change the line, and to

lead it myself in the *Melampus*. At half past one o'clock the whole fleet bore up in succession, the *Melampus* closing in with the rearmost ship of the English line; and at fifteen minutes past two o'clock we saw Lord Exmouth with the *Queen Charlotte* before the wind with sails standing, come to anchor with three anchors from the stern, with her broad-side in the wished-for position, within pistol-shot of the batteries, just before the opening of the Mole. This daring and unexpected manœuvre of this vessel (a three-decker) appeared to have so confounded the enemy, that a second ship of the line had already well nigh taken her position before the batteries opened their fire, which, how violent soever, was fully replied to. Having told Captain de Man that I wished as speedily as possible, with the *Melampus*, and the other frigates in succession, to take our position on the larboard side of Lord Exmouth, and to draw upon our squadron all the fire of the southern batteries, the captain brought his frigate in a masterly manner under the cross fire of more than one hundred guns, the bowsprit quite free of the *Glasgow*, with an anchor from the head and stern, in the required position, so as to open our larboard guns at the same minute. Captain Ziervogel, who was fully acquainted with the above plan, and with the batteries, brought his frigate, the *Diana*, nearly at the same moment within a fathom's length of the place where I had wished it, for our directed position. The *Dageraad*, Captain Polders, also immediately opened her batteries in the best direction. The Captain Van der Straten and Van der Hart, by the thick smoke, and not being so fully acquainted with the localities, were not so for-

fortunate in the first moments; but worded with the greatest coolness, and under the heaviest fire, so as to give their batteries a good direction. 'The Eendragt, Captain Lient. Wardenberg, which I had placed in the reserve, in order to be able to bring assistance, remained under the fire of the batteries close by. Our ships had not fired for more than half an hour, when Lord Exmouth acquainted me that he was very much satisfied with the direction of the fire of our squadron on the southern batteries, because these giving now as little hindrance as possible, he commanded the whole of the Mole, and all the enemy's ships.

His Majesty's squadron, as well as the British force, appeared to be inspired with the devotedness of our magnanimous chief to the cause of all mankind; and the coolness and order with which the terrible fire of the batteries was replied to, close under the massy walls of Algiers, will as little admit of description, as the heroism and self-devotion of each individual generally, and the greatness of Lord Exmouth in particular, in the attack of this memorable day.

The destruction of nearly half Algiers, and at eight o'clock in the evening, the burning of the whole Algerine navy have been the result of it. Till nine o'clock, Lord Exmouth remained with the Queen Charlotte in the same position, in the hottest of the fire, thereby encouraging every one not to give up the work until the whole was completed, and thus displaying such perseverance, that all were animated with the same spirit, and the fire of the ships against that of a brave and desperate enemy appeared to redouble.

Shortly afterwards, the Queen Charlotte, by the loosening of the burning wreck, being in the greatest danger, we were, under the heaviest fire, only anxious for the safety of our noble leader; but upon offering him the assistance of all the boats of the squadron, his reply was, "that having calculated every thing, it behoved us by no means to be alarmed for his safety, but only to continue our fire with redoubled zeal, for the execution of his orders, and according to his example."

His lordship, at last, about half an hour to ten o'clock, having completed the destruction in the Mole, gave orders to retire without the reach of the enemy's fire: which I, as well as all the others, scrupled to obey, before the Queen Charlotte was in safety from the burning ships.

In this retreat, which, from the want of wind, and the damage suffered in the rigging, was very slow, the ships had still to suffer much from a new-opened and redoubled fire of the enemy's batteries; at last, the land-breeze springing up, which Lord Exmouth had reckoned upon, the fleet, at twelve, came to anchor in the middle of the bay.

The Queen Charlotte, under the fire of the batteries, passing the Melampus under sail, his lordship wished to be able to see me, in order to completely reward me by shaking my hand in the heartiest manner, and saying—"I have not lost sight of my Dutch friends: they have, as well as mine, done their best for the glory of the day."

This circumstance, and the general order of Lord Exmouth to the fleet, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, must make the squadron hope for his Majesty's satisfaction.

For our loss in killed and wounded, I have to refer you to the subjoined list: it is remarkably small for ships exposed to a fire of eight hours' duration, in comparison with that of the English ships. In the damage done to our rigging, &c. your Excellency will observe that we have been less fortunate.

The day after the action, Lord Exmouth sent a second summons to the Dey, of which his lordship sent me a copy: it stated, that by the destruction of half Algiers and of his whole navy, the Dey was now chastised for his faithless conduct at Bona, &c. and that he could only prevent the total destruction of the town by the acceptance of the conditions of the preceding day. The signal of the acceptance of the conditions, was the firing of three shots, which three hours afterwards we had the satisfaction of hearing. In a conference with two persons empowered by the Dey, on board Lord Exmouth's ship, at which myself, together with Admiral Milne and Captain Brisbane, were present, all the points were regulated. The conclusion of the peace was, for England and the Netherlands, celebrated by the firing a salute of twice twenty-one cannon; and I have now the satisfaction of wishing you joy on the successful termination of the efforts of his Majesty in the cause of humanity. [Here follow praises bestowed by the admiral on the different officers of his squadron.]

In proof of his adherence to the treaty the Dey must this day, at twelve o'clock, deliver up 300,000 dollars; and all the slaves must be ready for embarkation at the wharf. Those of our country are in number twenty-six or twenty-seven, all well, be-

sides many others driven into the interior of the country, and who cannot be here before two or three days.

I shall have the honour, on a future opportunity, to report further to your Excellency ; and am, with the highest respect, &c.

T. VAN DE CAPPELLAN.

His Majesty's frigate Melampus, Bay of Algiers, Aug. 30, 1816.

The Netherlands, who were in captivity at Algiers, were already, on the 31st of August, on board the flag-ship of Vice-admiral Van de Capellan, who had appointed the Dageraad frigate to convey them to their native country. The corvette Eendragt has been sent to Marseilles, to bring the Consul Frassiniet.—The joyful tidings of the victory over the Algerines was made known to the inhabitants of this residence by the firing of cannon.

ADDITIONAL PARTICULARS.

A Copy of the Minutes of the Battle of Algiers, from the log-book of his Majesty's ship Leander, Captain Edward Chetham, C. B.

At day-light on the 27th of August, 1816, in company with the fleet, observed the city of Algiers, bearing W. S. W. About 8 A. M. light airs, inclining to calm, admiral and squadron in com-

pany, observed a French frigate working out of the Bay. His Majesty's ship *Severn* hoisted a flag of truce, and dispatched a boat towards the city. At ten exercised at quarters, and loaded the guns; hoisted out all the boats, and prepared them for service. At noon the French frigate joined; her captain went on board the *Commander-in-Chief*, where he remained a short time, and returned to his ship. Observed the *Severn's* boat, with the truce, pulling out from the city. At 2. 30. Lord Exmouth made the signal general, 'Are you ready?' which was immediately answered, 'Ready.' He then made the signal for the fleet to bear up—bore up *Leander*, within her own length of the *Commander-in-Chief*, standing in for the Mole—beat to quarters—made every preparation for anchoring—observed the enemies batteries crowded with men, and their gun-boats prepared to board. At 2. 40. the boat employed as a truce returned to the *Queen Charlotte*—clewed up our sails, following the motions of the *Commander-in-Chief*, who, at 2.45. anchored abreast of the Mole, and within half-pistol-shot.

At 2. 47. *Leander* anchored in her station, close a-head of the *Queen Charlotte*, in five fathoms water, when the enemy opened a most tremendous fire, which was instantly returned by the broad-sides of the *Queen Charlotte* and *Leander*, the fleet anchoring in the stations assigned them, and opening a vigorous fire. Observed the effect of our fire had totally destroyed the enemy's gun-boats and row-galleys, and defeated their intention of boarding. The battle now raged with great fury, officers and men falling very fast, and masts, yards, and rigging cutting in all directions.

At three observed the enemy's colours shot away in some of their batteries, which were very soon re-hoisted, and their fire obstinate. At 3. 50. an officer of the Hebrus came from the commander-in-chief, with orders to cease firing, to allow the enemy's frigate moored across the Mole to be set on fire, which was done in a gallant style by a boat from the Queen Charlotte. At 3. 55. a vigorous firing was recommenced on both sides. Our flat boats throwing rockets with good effect, some magazines were observed to explode.

At 4. 10. the enemy's frigate burning with great rapidity, and drifting near us, the commander-in-chief sent an officer to direct us to haul out clear of her. At 4. 15. the commander-in-chief made the signal for barges and pinnaces. Sent out boats to the Queen Charlotte, under the command of Lieutenant Monk. At 4. 30. Lieut. Monk returned with orders from the commander-in-chief to keep the boats in readiness to assist the Leander. Perceiving the ship on fire to be drifting past us, kept our station.

At 30 minutes past six, observed the city on fire in several places, and the Mole-head and some other batteries near us almost demolished: the enemy were remounting their guns, and we continuing a smart cannonading. At seven, found the batteries abreast of us to slacken, but were greatly cut up from batteries on the starboard bow. Run a hawser to Severn, and hove our broad-side to bear on them.

At 25 minutes past seven, the whole of the enemy's ships in the Mole were observed to be on fire—our masts, yards, sails, and rigging, at this pe-

riod, so entirely cut to pieces, as to prevent us, if necessary, setting a sail on the ship—officers and men falling fast, and a great proportion already killed and wounded; but our fire continued with unabated fury—enemy's fire considerably slackened—ships on fire drifting near us—hauled on our spring fast to the Severn, but found it shot away; made it fast again, and cut the small bower, to haul out of the way of the ships on fire.

At 9. 45. the fleet hauling and towing out, but from the state of the masts, sails, and rigging, found our own exertions ineffectual to haul or tow out; our hawser, which was fast to Severn, being gone, and no other ship near us. Lowered the gig, to send Lieut. Saunders (1st Lieut.) to inform Lord Exmouth of our situation; but the boat was sunk, and the jolly-boat, which that officer and crew then embarked in, was also sunk a short distance from the ship, but the crew were picked up by the flat-boat, and proceeded to the commander-in-chief, who immediately ordered assistance to be sent to the *Leander*.

At 10. 30. cut the stern cables, some boats towing us also, a hawser fast to the Severn, with a light air off the shore which enabled us to move slowly, and clear the ships on fire. The enemy recommenced a heavy fire of musketry upon us, and some few large guns at intervals fired grape and cannister to dislodge their small-arm men.

At 11. 25. the *Leander* ceased firing, drawing fast out into the bay. Light breezes, and cloudy, with thunder and lightning. At midnight answered the signal for the fleet to anchor. Light breezes, and very dark weather, wind S. W. illumined by

the Mole Arsenal, and Algerine Navy, in flames. Anchored with the best bower in 46 fathoms water.

At day-light mustered ship's company by ship's books, and found 16 killed, and 120 wounded; found our bowsprit, fore, main, and mizen masts very badly wounded, fore and main-yards shot away—main and mizen top-masts shot away; main-top-sails, yard, and the standing and running rigging so completely cut up, that we had scarce a rope to make use of; our sails just as bad; employed clearing the wreck. At 9. 30. acting Captain Mitchell came on board from the commander-in-chief, to thank Capt. Chetham for the admirable position taken up by the *Leander*, and for her conduct during the conflict.

Whilst the above details show the prominent share which the *Leander* took in the battle, it may likewise be considered as presenting a good general view of the zeal and valour that must have been displayed by all. The subjoined letter and information from other officers will still increase this impression :—

Leander, Motherbank, Sept. 28, 1816.

I must inform you that this ship anchored at Algiers at the moment the *Queen Charlotte* did; and both commenced firing together. His Highness the Dey, it would seem, was deluded by a false confidence in his means of defence, and ignorance of our naval character. He permitted us to take up our position without molestation, intending, it is since confessed, to board us from his flotilla, whilst we were furling sails: 37 boats were all fully manned and prepared for the service; but, to their

utter confusion, means had been prepared to *clue them up*, instead of furling them; so that we began their dreadful havoc and destruction before they could apply the few strokes of the oar, which would have brought them alongside our ships.

The tremendous broadsides of the Queen Charlotte and Leander pouring upon them, instantly sent them to the deep, leaving scarcely a wreck behind, but the harbour covered with people swimming from destruction. The Mole was filled with spectators on our entrance, where the terrific broadsides of the Queen Charlotte instantly spread desolation: and as crowds rushed to the great gate for succour and safety, the Leander's guns, which commanded the principal street, there carried death and destruction. Three times were the batteries on the Mole cleared, and thrice were they manned again.

The Dey was every where offering pecuniary rewards to those who would stand against us; eight sequins were to be given to every man who would endeavour to extinguish the fire. At length a horde of Arabs were driven into the batteries, under the inspection of the most devoted of the Janissaries, and the gates closed upon them. I have never seen men so animated as the Leander's were: the hearty and repeated British cheers sent forth on every occasion, when the houses were tumbling about the enemy, not only animated the men on deck, but those who were most severely wounded re-echoed them. Many of the wounded returned to their quarters after being dressed, and many anecdotes could be related of their devotion to their country.

All the passage they had been trained to their guns, and they were seen to take aim, and fire as deliberately as if they had been exercising. Nothing but the most singular interposition of Divine Providence could have saved this ship from total destruction: without a sail to set, the rigging cut to pieces, every spar injured, and the ship a perfect wreck, she was drifting on the rocks, when the wind suddenly veered round, and gave the boats an opportunity of coming to her assistance. The wounded are doing amazingly well; seventy-six brave fellows have been restored to the service. I believe it is not generally known that our worthy admiral, Milne, received a severe contusion of the thigh by a cannon-shot—he suffered much pain, but his modesty, as conspicuous as his merit, prevented its being mentioned. It may be worthy of remark, that one of our youngsters (a midshipman) was so fatigued, that he slept most soundly for an hour on the quarter-deck, during the heat of the action.

After the final close of the negotiations had been protracted a little, by the Dey refusing to give up two Spaniards, he consented, observing to his divan —“ His foot is upon my neck, and what can I do?” His lordship then left the bay with his fleet: the *Severn*, *Heron*, and *Mutine*, had been previously sent away with the restored redemption slave-money, for the kings of Naples and Sardinia. The *Impregnable* has 268 shot in her side, 50 of which are below, the lower-deck ports: 3 68-pounders entered her store-room, (six feet under water,) and wounded a woman there. She expended 16 tons

and a half of powder; 120 tons of shot; 54 32-pound rockets; and 30 8-inch shells. Thirty-six of her wounded men died the morning after the battle. The enemy's walls were from 14 to 16 feet thick, and formed of the best masonry our engineers ever examined. The Algerines were assisted by 40,000 Arabs, who since the battle have absconded with their arms, and become a great annoyance to the city. The Dey's prime minister was beheaded the morning after the action, because he was considered as the principal of the French party, whose influence had prevailed with the Dey to refuse the overtures of the Prince Regent. The French frigate which our fleet found in the bay, it was suspected, had landed a number of engineer officers at Algiers from France. The *Minden* and *Granicus* were intended to form a reserve; but immediately the firing commenced, they sent boats to Lord Exmouth to solicit a place in the line, and actually without orders anchored in a most effective manner.

The skirts of Lord Exmouth's coat were carried away by grape-shot, and discovered the next day among the flags. Capt. Brace, of the *Impregnable*, was wounded by splinters from the main-mast.

ACCOUNT BY A MERRY MIDSHIPMAN.

Copy of a Letter from a Midshipman on board his Majesty's Ship Queen Charlotte, to his friends in London.

Queen Charlotte, 20, 1816.

MY DEAREST —

Turbans and trowsers are so like caps and petti-

coats, that you in England think the Turks and Moors are little better than old women. If you had seen them the day before yesterday, you would have had a different opinion of them. Without so much noise and jabbering, they were as active as Frenchmen, and to do them justice, they pointed their guns with a coolness and precision that would not have disgraced any gentlemen in cocked hats and pantaloons, and I think, as far as I could judge, there are few Christians who value their skins less than these Pagans. They say that they have a funny paradise prepared for those who die in battle; some of the joys of this pretended Eden we hope to enjoy on our arrival at home; however, seven thousand of the poor Mahometans have gone before us.

All the ships bore up, and took their places in the best order and the most gallant manner. It was, at least, as coolly and exactly performed as the famous review at Portsmouth, and I only wish that the great Alexander, who, we are told, thinks we go snacks with the old Dey, had seen this review instead of that. Not that he could have seen long or much, for after the firing once began, the little wind that there was swooned away, as if for fear, and we were all covered by thick smoke, like twenty Vauxhalls at the end of fire-works on a cloudy night. Our old Queen Charlotte was the Madame Saqui of the piece, and danced beautifully on the tight rope by which she was made fast to the mole. I dare say the Dey thinks that we must be all *near-sighted*, for we seemed to think we never could get close enough. Our brave admiral was very polite; and though they say the first blow is

half the battle, he gave this advantage to the pirates, who began firing just about two o'clock, as I have since heard, for I forgot to look at my watch. The position of the *Queen Charlotte* was exactly at the entrance of the Mole, where we had a complete prospect of what they used to call the *marine*. They must now find a new name for it, for they have no marine left. This enabled us to have a clear view of the commencement of the action. I cannot describe to you the immense crowd of men that covered the Mole and all parts of the *marine*; they were as thick as hops; thicker I suppose than the hops are this year, unless the weather mended.—Well, just as the old lady was going to let fly her broadside, the admiral, I suppose, had some pity on the poor devils; for he stood on the poop, and motioned with his hand for them to get out of the way—but there was such a crowd that this was impossible, even if they had wished; but I don't suppose they understood what the admiral meant—at last, fire! fire! fire!—and bang: I think I saw five hundred or one thousand of them bang down in an instant. After that I did not see much, until our boats, taking pity on our darkness, set fire to a frigate close to us, just by way of light to see what we were doing. You talk of your fires in London, and of your engines and firemen; I wish we had had some of them, when this cursed frigate was blazing not fifty yards from our dwelling, which, being built of wood, with oakum for mortar, and fine verandas and balconies made of hemp and tow, was rather more in danger than one of your substantial messuages is, when the neighbour's house takes fire. The fact is, we were on fire, I believe

two or three times ; but we were all so d——d cool that we put it out directly. The short and the long of the story is, that in six hours we knocked all their batteries and castles about their ears and eyes, like the last scene in *Timour the Tartar*. When we come home, it would save the public some cash, and give us a little employment, to hire us to clear the way for the new street : we should have St. James's Market down in a twinkling ; and I will venture to say, the Dey's batteries looked as like a slaughter-house as any butcher's shop in the whole row.

All our gun-boats were numbered, and it was good fun to see how No. 8 would pull to get into the fire before No. 6 ; in fact they were all nobly conducted, and the only number which nobody seemed to care of was *number one*. For my part I say this with an easier conscience, because I was obliged to stay on board ; the boats were supposed to be such desperate work, that it required *great interest* to get into them. I never before so wished to be an *honourable* ; however, I was forced to content myself with the speaking trumpet, with the assistance of which I assure you I sang out pretty well, though I cannot say that it was to any great tune. You will say, perhaps, that I am acting the *trumpeter* still.

Now the grief of the story is, that we had no officer killed, so no promotion ; the Dey's balls seemed to have the navy list by heart, and took care to avoid every body who would have made a vacancy. The admiral had a sore drowse on the chops, which did not I believe draw blood ; if it did, he swabbed it up directly, without saying a word about it, though he must have had a good

deal of jaw of his own, to have been able to stand such a thump.

I have written my paper full, and yet I believe I have told you little or nothing about the real battle; but the truth is, I saw but little of it. I was like the man in the play, who could not see the town for the houses; and Jonah in the whale's belly knew as much about a gale of wind, as a Middy in a three-decker does of an action. But the best of the story is, and I must take a new sheet to tell it, that the Prometheus brought us two new midshipmen—funny little fellows; who do you think they were? The consul's wife and daughter. I wonder how they behaved in the action; I did not see them. The consul himself was in irons ashore. Now that it is over, I wonder whether he will thank us for teaching his wife to wear the breeches. He had a little child in the cradle, and the doctor promised to give it some dose that should make it be quiet; and he engaged to bring it down in a basket like a roasting pig; but just as the poor doctor and his pig got to the last gate, the poor little devil began to squeak; so the Turks found out the whole affair, and clapped the doctor and three youngsters, and the boat's crew into prison, as they do the old women about London, for child stealing. The doctor, I hear, says, that it is the most surprising thing in the world that his drug did not keep the child quiet, and indeed I think so too; for after taking these folks' stuff, people are generally quiet enough. However, all's well that ends well; the Dey sent the child off the next morning—we thought he must have a good force

with him, when he could afford to send us the *infantry*.

God bless you my dear —, I have got a correct plan of the whole affair, which Jane may work into a sampler at Christmas; only, mind, the Turks must be done in *worsted*. I hear our captain is going with despatches. I shall try to get this letter sent, to let you know that I am alive and merry: and now that you are sure of that, I will tell you of a little scratch I had, but it is nothing at all, just like my letter. Our doctor you see has no better success with me than the Prometheus' doctor with the little child, for he has not made me *quiet*. Again God bless you.

I end this the 30th: could you believe that so much nonsense could be written in twenty-four hours, and with such a bad pen?

THE BATTLE MORE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED.

*Extract of a Letter from a Midshipman, dated H. M. S. *****, Bay of Algiers, 29th August, 1816.*

— As for minutely describing the action, it was so awful, that it is quite out of my power, therefore I will not attempt it, but must refer you to the printed despatches. I will, however, mention one circumstance, that came within my own observation. The *Heron* lay for more than three hours close under the admiral's stern, blazing away, and ready to assist in towing him off if requisite. On the little brig taking that position, Lord Exmouth

standing on Queen Charlotte's *taf'rail*, hailed her, and taking off his hat, cheered her himself."

To give Lord E. his due, he certainly took Q. C. into a place where I expected her to be blown out of the water: she lay within half pistol-shot of three immense batteries, and had above two hundred guns bearing on her alone. The Algerines suffered most of the ships to take their stations before they opened their fire, being confident of obtaining an easy victory over ships opposed by stone walls covered with guns. It is said that the first broadside from Q. C. killed above three hundred people, and that the *Leander's* destroyed as many more: from that time they gradually forsook their guns.

The grandest spectacle I ever beheld was when their frigates were burning: this, together with shot, shells, rockets, &c. flying over our heads, has made so solemn an impression on my mind, that it never can be effaced. None of *us* were hurt, although the rigging over-head was coming down about our ears every instant; both these circumstances I account for by the supposition of their firing uncommonly high; Q. C. herself not having a man touched on her lower deck. Some say the battle of Algiers was at times hotter than Trafalgar itself. One of our lieutenants, who was in that action, is of this opinion.

August 30. I find the *Leander* does not sail immediately; which gives me time to add, that the articles of the treaty have been read to the respective ship's companies, and received with three cheers. It will always be an extremely gratifying thought to recollect the 27th of August. We began

at half past two with eagerness, and at midnight our spirits were not in the least abated.

Comparative Statement of Loss in the late Action at Algiers, with that of former ones during the two late Wars.

The Algerines, it would seem, have been much undervalued as to their skill in gunnery; the late action against them, our readers will be surprised to hear, was the bloodiest which has been fought of late years, in comparison with the numbers employed.

In the action of the 1st of June, there were 26 sail of the line (including the *Audacious*) in action, with about 17,000 men; of these, 281 were killed, and 797 wounded.—Total, 1078.

In Lord Bridport's action, 23rd of June, 1795, there were 14 sail, with about 10,000 men; of whom only 31 were killed, and 113 wounded.—Total, 144.

In the action off Cape St. Vincent's there were 15 sail of the line, with about 10,000 men; of whom there were 73 killed, and 227 wounded.—Total, 300.

In Lord Duncan's action, 11th of October, 1797, there were 16 sail of the line (including two 50's) engaged, with about 8,000 men; of whom 191 were killed, and 560 wounded.—Total, 751.

In the battle of the Nile, 1st of August, 1798, there were 14 sail of the line engaged, with about 8000 men; of whom 218 were killed, and 677 wounded.—Total, 895.

In Lord Nelson's attack on Copenhagen, 2nd of April, 1801, there were 11 sail of the line and 5 frigates engaged, with about 7,000 men; of whom 234 were killed, and 641 wounded.—Total, 875.

In the battle of Trafalgar, 21st of October, 1805, there were 27 sail of the line engaged, with about 17,000 men; of whom 412 were killed, and 1,112 wounded.—Total, 1,524.

In the attack on Algiers there appear to have been 5 sail of the line and 5 frigates engaged, the crews of which may be computed at about 5,000 men; of whom 128 were killed, and 690 wounded.—Total, 818. If the Dutch frigates were added, they may be taken at about 1,500, of whom 13 were killed, and 32 wounded; so that the totals would be of 6,500 men, 141 killed, and 722 wounded.—Total, 863.

Our readers will see that the proportion, therefore, of the killed and wounded in this action, exceeds the proportion in any of our former victories.

On the 5th of October, 1816, arrived at Plymouth, from Gibraltar, after a tedious passage of twenty days, his Majesty's ships *Impregnable*, Captain Brace, *Superb*, Captain Ekins, *Hebrus*, Captain Palmer, and *Belzebub* bomb, Captain Kempthorne, four of the gallant partakers in this desperate engagement, which were immediately put into quarantine. On returning to their station, the two former ships saluted the Port-admiral, who gave them a similar

compliment. One general joy pervaded the three towns; the Plymouth bells pealed merrily, and the Sound soon became covered with boats full of anxious inquirers for friends and relatives.

On Wednesday the quarantine flag was lowered, and the Impregnable and Superb prepared to go up Hamoaze. On hearing the signal-gun, the inhabitants flocked from every direction to Mutton Cove, Mount Wise, the Hoe, and other eminences around. The wind was peculiarly auspicious, and as the vessels passed the Narrows into Hamoaze, with all the grandeur of British sail of the line, apparently as if conscious of the laurels they had so nobly won, the welkin rang with cheers from thousands of voices on both shores, and on board the shipping, until the Impregnable came to anchor off the Dockyard, and the Superb nearly opposite the Gunwharf. The Belzebub followed soon afterwards, leaving the Hebrus in the Sound, which came up the harbour on Thursday.

The Impregnable was almost riddled on the star-board side, having large shot in the hull, 233; foremast, 6; bowsprit, 3; foreyard, 1; jib boom, 2; main-yard, 2; main-top-mast, 3; main-top-gallant-mast 1; crotch-yard, 1; gaff, 1; main-mast, 15.—Total, 268. None less than a 24-pounder.

A considerable number of grape-shot were found sticking in different parts of the ship, all her rigging entirely shot away, and the sails very much cut.

The muzzle of one of the guns, and the arm of another, were knocked off; and eight or ten others, with their carriages, broken.

The Impregnable expended 400 barrels, or 18

tons of powder; and 7000, or 100 tons of round shot, besides case, canister, and Shrapnell shells. One 18lb. shot entered her bulwark, passed through the heart of her main-mast, and went out at the opposite side. A 44lb. shot lodged in the ship, was slung in the boatswain's store-room, with the following words painted on it:—

This was sent by the Dey of Algiers on board H. M. S. Impregnable, as one of the advocates for slavery, but without effect, the 27th August, 1816.

The Impregnable remained at Gibraltar two days, during which time a new main-mast was taken in, and that valuable officer, Captain Brace, being determined to accompany his noble chief home to England, put to sea with the main-top-mast half rigged, and main-yard down. We subjoin a copy of the minutes from the log.

Minutes taken on board of his Majesty's Ship Impregnable, on the 27th of August, 1816, from the commencement to the end of the Action.

12 Noon—Fine clear weather, the squadron lying to off Algiers, waiting the return of the flag of truce.

0. 15. P. M.—Answered general signal to prepare to anchor, and engage the enemy.

1. 35.—The flag of truce was annulled, and the commander-in-chief bore up and led in.

I. 40.—Bore up to take our station a-stern of the Superb.

2. 45.—Clew up the fore and mizen-top-sails,

enemy opened a most tremendous fire from the whole of their batteries, when our headmost ships commenced action.

2. 43.—Clew up the main-top-sail, let go the sheet and stream anchors, and brought the ship up by the stern.

2. 49.—Let go the best bower anchor, and sprung the ships's starboard broadside to the lighthouse batteries of 3 tiers of guns, distance about 350 yards, the batteries to the S. E. of 2 tier, 2 other to the S. W. and 1 of four guns bearing on us.

2. 50.—Commenced action.

3. 20.—The enemy's fire considerably slackened; our squadron keeping up a very heavy and well-directed fire on the batteries and town; run out the kedge anchor on the starboard beam, to spring the ship's broadside more towards the enemy.

3. 30.—All the enemy's works much injured, their upper tiers totally abandoned, and the whole of their standards (but one) struck or shot away.

4. 0.—An explosion took place on the main-deck, occasioned by a shell from the enemy passing through the screen of the after hatchway in the admiral's cabin, which killed and wounded about fifty of our men.

4. 24.—Captain Powell went with a message to the commander-in-chief.

4. 30.—Sent the launch with a mortar, and the flat boat with rockets, to bombard the town.

6. 50.—A fire broke out amongst the enemy's ships in the Mole, our squadron keeping up a very heavy cannonade, the enemy's fire still slackening.

8. 40.—A boat came on board from the commander-in-chief, with orders to haul off, when the

explosion vessel under our directions had blown up, as the object of the expedition was wholly completed. Admiral Milne sent Captain Powell in his gig to conduct the explosion vessel alongside of the forts, [which he did, and it is but justice to this officer, who served as a volunteer, to mention the circumstance.]

9. 10.—The explosion vessel blew up close under one of the forts, the whole of the enemy's ships and gun-boats now in flames, and most of their batteries destroyed.

9. 50.—The Mutine brig ran out a hawser, and laid down an anchor for the ship to haul out by, the whole of the squadron still keeping up a tremendous fire on the town and batteries.

10. 15.—Cut the cables and springs, and hauled out; sent the boats a-head to tow; bomb-vessels and the boats of the squadron continuing to throw shells and rockets; two of the enemy's frigates on fire drifting out, the others in the Mole still burning.

11. 15.—Came to anchor in forty fathoms water, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the town, the squadron hawling out.

Found the hull, masts, yards, and rigging very much cut, upwards of fifty men killed, and about one hundred and ninety men wounded.

Midnight—Squally weather, with thunder, lightning, and heavy rain, the enemy's ships and part of the town still burning.

Particulars of the Action between the combined Squadrons of Britain and Holland, and the batteries of Algiers, on the glorious 27th of August, 1816, taken from minutes on board H. M. S. Superb.

The morning of the 27th of August, 1816, presented to the view of the combined squadron the city of Algiers, about six leagues on the weather-bow. Anxiety to combat was depicted on every countenance, and every bosom throbbed high to cover themselves with honour, and rescue their fellow Christians from ignominious slavery. Every sail was crowded with alacrity, and each ship of the combined squadrons cleared for action. At 7 observed a frigate standing out of the Bay under French colours. At 9, the *Severn* went in with a flag of truce, the fleets beating to windward with light variable airs, under all possible sail.

At 11, 30, the Admiral made the signal for dinner, to which we piped accordingly, and at 12, 25, P. M. we beat to quarters, out with boats and manned and armed them, eased the anchors down for letting go, &c. the admiral having made the signal to prepare to anchor and engage the enemy. At 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ we bore up in the following order of battle; *Queen Charlotte*; *Heron* sloop as tender; *Superb*; *Britomart* tender; *Impregnable*; *Mutine* tender; *Minden*; *Cordelia* tender; *Albion*; *Leander*; *Glasgow*; *Granicus*; *Severn*; *Hebrus*, and *Prometheus*. At 2, 50, the admiral anchored, and moored head and stern about sixty yards off the Mole Head. At 3, 10, being a cable's length from the admiral and close under the batteries, we clewed up

the topsails to the mast-head, and let go two bower and two stern anchors, when the enemy fired a shot, supposed to be either at us or the *Queen Charlotte*. The admiral instantly returned it with a broadside, and a most tremendous fire commenced from the whole of the batteries, the ships anchoring in succession, and entering into a general action, with their starboard broadsides, except the Dutch ships which engaged on the larboard side. The *Superb* and *Granicus* were opposed to a battery of 18 and 32 pounders, about 60 in number. At 4, we observed that our shot made a considerable impression on the works, that they flinched in their upper tier, and had a great many guns disabled. At 5, observed the battery a-beam ceasing firing their upper tier, their guns being dismounted: but the enemy still annoyed us from their lower tiers and with musketry, with as much fierceness as ever.

At 6, 50, the whole of the enemy's flotilla, consisting of five frigates, six corvettes, brigs, schooners, gun and row boats, &c. were in one blaze, and the *Queen Charlotte*, to avoid danger, as they drifted out, was obliged to shift her berth northward. The upper tiers were now altogether silenced, and the lower much slackened, the enemy rallying at their guns at intervals, and teasing us with musketry from their embrasures.

At 8, 30, from keeping up such a brisk and constant fire, we found our powder getting rather short. Orders, therefore, were given to fire only at these embrasures, which continued the action, and to spell some of our guns. During all this time the bombs and gun and rocket boats had performed their duty on the enemy's town and works, with

visible effect. At 11, our captain, first, third, and seventh lieutenants being wounded, and the admiral sending a boat for ships disabled to be taken in tow, we slipped our cables, and our shattered state only allowing us to set our mizen top-sail, main topmast stay-sail, and sprit-sail, were towed out of gun-shot by the Britomart, at the rate of about half a knot an hour, exposed with the other ships, to a raking fire from two solitary guns. On getting out of hostile range, we found our three lower masts and bowsprit, topmasts, lower and top-sail yards, driver boom, and gaff, jib-boom, &c. very severely injured, the rigging dreadfully cut up, our mainmast with nine large shot through the heart of it, besides being otherwise much cut up with grape and langridge, nine shot between wind and water, independent of many in the hull, and our loss in killed and wounded nearly 100. The appearance of the fleet standing out, with the glare of the enemy's burning ships and arsenal on their shattered masts and sails, added to heavy peals of thunder and vivid flashes of lightning, together with torrents of rain, combined altogether to form a scene awful and sublime beyond description. It seemed as if heaven itself was determined to pour down his vengeance, and exterminate these savage barbarians.

At 1, 30, A. M. we anchored with our only remaining anchor, the rest being left behind, and after giving our wearied lads a few hours rest, we turned them up to clear the decks and repair damages. In the morning the admiral sent in a flag of truce, and the Dey returned word by the Swedish consul that he would comply with any terms. The day

before he had told his principal officers that he would have us to whitewash his walls in less than half an hour after the commencement of the action!! But what could withstand a squadron led on by Exmouth, and supported by justice and humanity, and in an inspiring cause, well worthy of British seamen?

At 1, P. M. on the 28th, we turned the hands up, and read the admiral's thanks for their noble and gallant behaviour, and told them that peace had been signed with the enemy on our own terms. Our tars received the welcome intelligence with three cheers, and then resumed their duty with that ready cheerfulness which ever characterizes the British sailor. On the ensuing day, the following correspondence took place between our ship and the *Granicus*.

Algiers Bay, August 29, 1816.

The ship's company of the *little frigate* that had the honour to lay between the *Queen Charlotte* and *Superb*, on the glorious 27th of August, 1816, beg leave to express their high admiration of the noble fire kept up by these ships on that glorious day, by which, in a great measure, the enemy's fire was drawn from his Majesty's ship *Granicus*.

Superb's Answer.

Algiers Bay, August 29, 1816.

The ship's company of the *Superb* return their many thanks to the ship's company of the *little frigate* for the high compliment they have been pleased to pay them, and have only to hope that should

they ever again go into action, they may have a Granicus to support them.

The enemy were not very nice in their use of missiles. Broken glass, old nails, spikes, and other articles of a similar nature, were fired in profusion, and did no little mischief. The number of the enemy's guns amounted to 1001, of different calibres, one of them with seven bores on the Mole Gateway, while that of the attacking squadron, exclusive of six Dutch frigates, four bombs, and five gun-boats, was only 702.

By inquiries, as to the amount of loss on the part of the Algerines, it appeared, that in killed only, 5000 Janissaries and from 5 to 6000 Arabs fell, besides women and children. A shell thrown from one of the bombs burst in a house, where nine children were assembled, and unhappily killed the whole; and there was scarcely a house in the city, but what had suffered more or less injury from the bombardment.

An interesting event occurred on the beach, while the treaty with the Dey was pending. Mr. Aitcheson, a marine artillery officer, happening to meet a Frenchman, who had been in captivity for fifteen years, asked him if he would like to return to France in the French ship which lay in the bay? He indignantly replied, that he felt ashamed of his country, but would go any where with the brave English, who had so kindly liberated him.

Captain Brisbane and the Dey of Algiers.

The *Journal des Debats* gives the following minute of a conversation purporting to have taken place between the Dey of Algiers and Captain Brisbane, by order of Lord Exmouth:—

I informed the Dey, that Lord Exmouth required satisfaction for the insults offered to the English consul and to the English nation.

The Dey answered, 'I am ready to give it.—What is it that you ask?'

I replied, 'Express your extreme displeasure at the violence which, in the heat of the moment, you have exercised towards the consul, and beg his pardon for these violences.'

The Dey rejoined, 'Well; I beg his pardon.'

To this I added—'Address yourself to the consul, and beg his pardon.'—This he did in the presence of all his ministers.

(Signed) JAMES BRISBANE, Captain.

Witness—Major WM. GOSSEL.

In closing this long chapter, almost exclusively devoted to a history of the late glorious attack upon Algiers, and the signal chastisement inflicted upon these barbarians, we are constrained to admit, that there never was an achievement which reflected a purer glory on the BRITISH NAME—one undertaken not from any merely British motives, but to defend the *general cause of humanity*, and vindicate the rights of the civilized world. All observers agree

that in the case of a race at once mean and barbarous, *fear* is the only motive which can act with sufficient force; and that a punishment, such as cannot soon be forgotten, affords the only security for their future moderation. The lesson which the Algerines have just received is of this description; and there is, therefore, every reason to hope, that it may be long and salutary.



Christians in Slavery!

Thos. Key del.

CHAP. V.

Recent State of Christian Slavery at Algiers, and in the other Barbary States.—Employment of the Captives—their hard fare and cruel treatment.

WE shall now proceed to detail some particulars of that dreadful state of *Christian slavery*, which lately existed at Algiers and in Barbary,—which so justly excited the interest and sympathy, while it called forth the indignation of the British people, and gave rise to an expedition, the glorious result of which we have just narrated.

To be placed under the absolute control of the most brutal and corrupted of mortals, whom religious antipathy had divested of every human sympathy—without any law or earthly power to appeal to—the hopeless victims of brutal cruelty, and still more brutal voluptuousness;—this is certainly the most dreadful fate to which human beings were ever devoted: yet such has been the fate of thousands of Europeans, among whom were often those, who from rank, sex, and cultivation of mind, must have been most keenly sensible of its horrors.

An interesting account of the treatment of slaves at Algiers, is given in Mr. Stephens's description of Algiers, &c. printed at Philadelphia in 1800. From this book, as quoted in the very excellent "Sup-

plement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*," now publishing, we glean the following particulars.

On the 23rd of October, 1792, the American ship *President* saw approaching an armed xebeck bearing Spanish colours, till she came within gun-shot, when she instantly hoisted the bloody flag and fired. Escape was now impossible; the xebeck instantly put out a boat with thirty armed men, who rowed furiously towards the vessel, and boarded it with the wildest shouts and outcries. No resistance being made, they began to strip the crew with a fury of avarice, of which it was impossible to form an idea. Sometimes several fell upon one American, and fought over him for the clothes of which he was stript. Having ransacked every corner, they then ordered the Americans to descend into the boat; and those who showed any hesitation, were instantly knocked down and kicked over into it.

On reaching Algiers, the distribution took place. The *Dey* first made his choice, which was formerly limited to an eighth of the whole, but now extends to as great a number as he chooses to demand. For this purpose they were conducted to the palace, and drawn up in files along a court, where they passed under review: having made the selection, he dismissed the rest with the compliment, "*Go you Christian dogs, and eat stones.*" The youngest were employed in menial offices about the palace, the rest were put to work in the marine and public buildings.

Whenever a foreign vessel was in the port, they were loaded with thirty or forty pounds weight of chains, in order to prevent their escape. Their heaviest labour consisted in dragging immense

stones from a neighbouring quarry, for the repair and enlargement of the mole. A body of Turks attended to urge them on, but gave no aid, unless by continually roaring out *hyomoly*, "heave away," with a noise so tremendous, that it was heard at the distance of more than a league.

At night, these wretched men were locked up in two huge buildings, called *bagnios*, the lower part of which was employed for shops, and the upper for the joint accommodation of the captives, and of the *wild beasts* belonging to the Dey. There was no bed in the place, and they were obliged to lie on the floor, till their own ingenuity enabled them to erect some humble substitute. The daily allowance of food was a pound of very bad bread, and a small quantity of oil. Many sunk under this accumulation of distress, and were carried to the Spanish hospital, the only relief provided for their miseries. The sympathy of the American people having been, at length, excited by reports of their sufferings, they opened a negociation, and at the expence of nearly *eight hundred thousand dollars*, procured the release of the captives.

The observations made by Captain Croker agree with the narrative of the Americans, and prove that no improvement had taken place since that time. In July, 1815, Captain Croker commanded the *Wizard* sloop of war, which was ordered to Algiers by Lord Exmouth, and on that service beheld the attack of a small Dutch squadron by the pirates, who were, however, fortunately too weak for it, or, in the sufferings of the captive crews, Captain Croker would have had to witness even more misery than it was otherwise his fate to encounter. What

he did see, however, was quite sufficient; for the very day after his arrival at Algiers, on inquiring into the purport of a paper which he saw in the hands of the British Vice-consul, he found it to be a subscription for the relief of nearly three hundred Christian slaves, just arrived from Bona, the most eastern part of Algiers, after a journey of many days. These poor wretches having been brought with the usual ceremony to the Dey's feet, were ordered to their different destinations; such as were able to go to their Bani, or Prison, were sent there; but the far greater number were objects for the Spanish hospital.

When Captain C. inquired into the particulars of the capture of these wretched people, he found, on the authority of all the consuls in Algiers, that they were a part of three hundred and fifty-seven, who had been taken by two Algerine pirates, carrying English colours, by which stratagem they were decoyed within their reach. Landed at Bona, these unhappy people had been driven to Algiers like a herd of cattle. Such as were no longer able to walk had been tied on mules, and many who had become still more enfeebled, were murdered without ceremony! On their journey fifty-nine expired! One youth fell dead the very moment they brought him to the feet of the Dey; and within six days from their arrival at Algiers, nearly seventy men were delivered by death from the inhumanity of these monsters in human shape! Captain C. on a subsequent day visited the quarries, where he saw the Christian slaves and the mules driven promiscuously to the same labour by their Algerine masters, and was struck with indignation and surprise,

when they referred him to the British consul, to prove that many of them were actually made slaves, whilst under English passport granted for the express purpose of supplying our armies with grain.

When the Island of Ponza was surrendered to Britain, the great addition of the British garrison and squadron occasioned considerable anxiety for the maintenance of the inhabitants themselves, as well as of their new masters. Under this pressure, the British commander encouraged a spirit of commerce in the natives, by granting them passports to different places to procure grain for the use of the island, and as a further protection, to carry the British flag. What was the consequence?—when met by the Algerines, they threw the British flag into the sea, and dragged them into captivity; nor was the English consul ever able to obtain their release.

The following is another similar case detailed by Captain C. Two brothers of the name of Tereni, natives of Leghorn, returning from England to their own country, although in possession of a passport from General Oakes, were taken by the pirates, robbed of 2000*l.* worth of property, and carried into slavery. Their fate was made known in London, and the Secretary of State directed the British consul to use his influence for their release; but all that he was able to obtain for them, was permission to live under his protection, on the condition of paying a dollar a month for not working in the mines.

The prison for Christian slaves is thus described by Captain C. This wretched receptacle is placed in one of the narrow streets of Algiers. On entering the gate there is a small square yard for the

slaves to walk about; in this place they are locked up every Friday; and as on that day they do not work, they are allowed nothing but water by the *Algerine government*. For a single pound of bread each, distributed to them on this day, they are indebted to a charitable foundation by an *Agha*, who, having in his youth endured the misery of bondage, left at his death a rent-charge upon his real property, consecrated to that pious purpose.* From this place the captain ascended by a stone staircase into a gallery, around which were rooms with naked earthen floors and damp stone walls. Each of these rooms was furnished with an iron-grated window and a strong door, and two of them contained twenty-four things resembling cot-frames, with twigs interwoven in the middle: these were hung up one above another round the room, and those slaves alone were admitted to the luxury of such a bed as could pay for it. Captain C. is at loss for a comparison for this loathsome prison and these abominable cells; if they had light, he thinks they would most resemble the houses in which negroes in the West Indies keep their pigs! The stench was so intolerable, the captain and his whole company could scarcely endure it; one gentleman nearly fainted. The food of the slaves consists of two

* It is worthy of remark, that under the law of Mahomet, which is far from being so anti-christian as is commonly supposed, the *first* who has contributed to the relief of the poor white slaves is an *Algerine Agha*! and that the tyrannical power which holds them in bondage, nevertheless watches over the faithful application of this testamentary bequest: this is the *Koran*—What says the *Bible*? *Go thou and do likewise.*

black loaves of half a pound each, which are their daily bread; they are allowed neither meat nor vegetables, those excepted who work at the Marina, who get ten olives a day, and such as are in the Spanish hospital, which that government supports as well as it is able.

The Spanish hospital was also visited by Captain Croker, who saw its floors covered with unhappy beings of every age and of both sexes, men at the age of sixty, and children who could not be more than eight, the whole of whom had their legs swelled and cut in such a horrible manner, as seemed to defy recovery. There, among several Sicilian females, he saw a poor woman, who burst into tears, and told him she was the mother of eight children, and requested him to look at six of them, who had been slaves with her for thirteen years! "We left these scenes of horror," says Captain C. "and in going into the country, I met the slaves returning from their labour. The clang of the chains of those who are heavily ironed, called my attention to their extreme fatigue and dejection, they being attended by infidels with large whips!" The women are procured by descents on the Italian coasts; their fate is most horrible in every sense, as well as that of their children, whether girls or boys!

As an additional evidence of the insults offered even to the *consuls*, Captain C. relates, that the Danish consul was once taken to the Bani, and had irons put upon him, until Denmark paid some tributary debt, and that he saw the Spanish Vice-consul *working in irons* with the other slaves!

An anecdote recorded of *Admiral Keppel*, is another instance of those gusts of passion, and sudden

exhibitions of unruly temper which have always characterised the reigning Dey of Algiers. While Admiral Keppel commanded the squadron up the Mediterranean, frequent complaints were made to the ministry by the merchants trading to the Levant, of the piracies of the Algerines. These complaints were passed over, till two ships richly laden were taken and carried into Algiers. This was so flagrant an infraction of treaties, that the ministry could no longer be silent; accordingly orders were sent to the admiral to sail into the harbour of Algiers, and demand restitution of the Dey; and in case of refusal, he had an unlimited power to make reprisals. The admiral's squadron cast anchor in the offing, in the bay of Algiers, facing the Dey's palace. He went ashore, attended only by his captain and barge's crew; proceeded to the palace, demanded an immediate audience; and being conducted to the Dey's presence, he laid open his embassy, and in his master's name, demanded satisfaction for the injuries done to the subjects of his Britannic majesty. Surprised and astonished at the boldness of the admiral's remonstrance, the Dey exclaimed, "That he wondered at the English king's insolence in sending him a foolish beardless boy." The admiral replied, "That if his master had supposed that wisdom had been measured by the length of the beard, he would have sent his Deyship a he-goat." Unused to such language from the sycophants of his court, this reply put him beside himself; and forgetting the laws of all nations in respect to ambassadors, he ordered his mutes to attend with the bow-string, at the same time telling the admiral he should pay for his audacity with his

life. Unmoved with this menace, the admiral took him to the window facing the Bay; and shewing him the English fleet, lying at anchor, told him if it was his pleasure to put him to death, there were Englishmen enough in that fleet to make a glorious funeral pile. The Dey was wise enough to take the hint: the admiral came off in safety, and ample restitution was made.

So it was many years ago, and so it will be again, as soon as the Algerines recover their strength, for we cannot help thinking that the conquest or chastisement of Algiers, upon any other principle than that of annihilating this wretched system of government, or rather robbery, is the most futile thing possible. The French, the British, the Spaniards, and the Americans, have all in their turns humbled them, as they have recently been humbled by BRITISH ARMS: but it has never abated their insolence in the slightest degree, when they recovered from the panic. Algerine politics are purely piratical, and founded upon the law of the strongest. They cease to rob when they can rob no longer, and recommence as soon as they are able, and this so regularly, that hypocrisy, one of the most hateful of all vices, they must be acquitted of, for by a general profession, all particular perfidy is rendered legal.

Thus, when they think themselves strong enough to demand tribute, they demand it, without the slightest reference to the past, or taking the least trouble to compose a well written manifesto in the name of Alla and the prophet. A British consul having remonstrated with a Dey of Algiers, on the lawlessness of his corsairs, he exclaimed with

much candour, "My good friend, what avails this long story, the Algerines are thieves, and I am their captain." The code of Algiers is curious. If the owner of a corsair loses it, he is obliged to build another. All prisoners are considered as dead, ransom never being proposed for them. Whatever damage is done by bombardment from an enemy; the sufferers are obliged to replace, or all that they have left is confiscated.

The state of *Tunis* is not far behind that of Algiers in its unwarrantable detention of Christians in slavery, though its general treatment of them is somewhat better than that in the other states; many instances however might be recorded of individual cruelty and brutality which would disgrace the wildest barbarian that ever existed. When Mr. Mc. Gill (whom we have before quoted) visited Tunis in 1811, he saw there about two thousand Sicilian slaves, no less than a hundred of whom had been captured from under British passports. Among these were a Sicilian lady and her five daughters, who, as they approached maturity, were taken from her, one after the other, to gratify the lust of their barbarian master, the chief minister of the Bey. One of these poor victims fell an early sacrifice, and one with the mother was at length delivered over to the British consul, whose influence, after repeated trials, was successful to that extent, but no further. What adds to the horror is, that if they had been *sons* instead of daughters the result would have been no way different. The outrages of this nature, to which women and children of both sexes are liable, are unspeakable.

Great pains are taken to convert the younger

captives to Mahometanism, and as may naturally be expected, generally with success. Of the habits and ideas of these wretches, a notion may be formed by an anecdote related by Mr. Mc. Gill of a little Christian girl, of eight years of age, with whose sprightly manners and promising person the Bey was so taken, that he ordered her to be brought up in the Mahometan faith, and attended to as his future wife. Unfortunately, however, or rather fortunately, the child died of a fever, and escaped the intended honour.

The same traveller relates another affecting anecdote, of three Georgian boys, kept by the same brutal miscreant for the vilest purpose. These youths, exasperated at their treatment, and the additional cruelty of the minister under whose care they were placed, attempted to assassinate the Bey, and had nearly succeeded. The poor youths died, sword in hand, fighting valiantly, although the eldest of them was under sixteen years of age!

Mr. Blaquiere, in his recent valuable "Letters from the Mediterranean," affords some additional particulars of the most cruel treatment of slaves at Tunis, particularly *females*, whose sufferings inflicted upon them by their diabolical masters, are of the most revolting description.

In a letter, dated from Tunis, in 1811, this interesting author and amiable man, observes, amidst a variety of considerations which deeply interest the happiness of these powers, one circumstance is paramount to all others, and most powerfully claims the exertions of a Briton, while it excites his sympathy and commiseration: I allude to

the unhappy condition to which the slaves, who are at present in the respective regencies, have long been reduced. It would indeed require a pen, far more energetic than mine, to paint the horrors of their situation, or the extent of their sufferings; but in recapitulating a few facts, you will be enabled to form a faint idea of them. The number at this moment in Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, exceeds one thousand, amongst these, a fourth are females.

The Mahometan, from religion, education, and precepts, is taught to detest the name of a Christian; what, therefore, must be the melancholy fate of those of our fellow creatures, who for ever become the personal property of such people, but that their life is a continued scene of the most poignant sorrow and misery? The eloquence of a British senate has often been successfully exerted in the cause of suffering humanity, and it is, I hope, reserved for the liberality and benevolence of a British administration, for ever to put an end to a system which militates so much against the interests, duty, and happiness of mankind.

As a specimen of the treatment to which the unfortunate slaves now at this town are subject, I shall select sixty men who are employed in the immediate service of his Highness, upon some public works near the city: during summer and winter, they rise at day-break, and work till dark; their daily allowance consists of the following—two small rolls of literally black bread, and six grains of copper, (equal to a penny English) the latter to find them in clothes throughout the year; a monthly ration of wheat and oil is added to the above; of

the former about two gallons, and three pints of the latter; so that it will not be difficult to conceive from this statement, that these emblems of distress are generally half naked. Two keepers, armed with bludgeons, are their constant attendants, and I assert it as a positive fact, that the most severe corporal punishment is continually ordered to be inflicted, without discrimination, on the commission of any crime to merit it. The bastinado, a punishment well known in these countries, can seldom be avoided by any of the bey's (or his minister's) slaves for more than a week; and from the numerous testimonies which I have received, I have now concluded, that the cruelty practised towards Christians, is considered by the Moors as a religious duty. Such being the male captives' situation, let us turn to the fate of that sex which has a still more powerful claim upon our sympathy and feelings. Those at Tunis are supposed to be about two hundred, and no language can certainly equal a description of the melancholy and heart-rending situation to which they are reduced. I am convinced that a recital of the facts I am acquainted with, would be too much for the feelings of an English reader: justice, however, demands that this subject should be amply elucidated, and if any thing can serve to illustrate the character and inexorable qualities, so conspicuous in the Tunisian, it is in their persecutions and cruelties towards a sex which one would be inclined to think likely to excite some small degree of pity.

It has ever been the practice, on the arrival of any *female slaves* in the regency of Tunis, that

they should first be subject to a minute examination, by the bey, who has the privilege of appropriating any, which merit his highness's approbation, to the seraglio. When this choice takes place, their fate becomes truly deplorable ; if not endowed with the most prepossessing qualities, they are subjected to every species of oppression and severity from the Moorish women ; and a determination to force a change of religion is among the least of the cruelties attendant on their situation.

A young woman, who had attracted the notice of his highness, was conveyed to the palace ; and having, with a virtuous determination, resisted every attempt made on her faith, as also other acts of violence, she excited the bey's displeasure, and the manner of gratifying his revenge was as follows :—the unhappy victim was seized, and secured with cords to a pillar, remaining in that situation for three days, during which time every effort was used on the part of her malignant persecutors to accomplish their object : her virtue triumphed, and she was at length dismissed, having in the above short period, received one thousand bastinadoes !—Such were the fortitude and religious resignation which animated this unfortunate girl, that she did not complain, nor even make the circumstance known to a near relative, who is also in slavery.

The circumstance was communicated to me by an old Sicilian slave, who has been many years in captivity ; and it would be difficult to describe his feelings, while relating to me this most execrable deed. The poor old man in concluding, burst into tears ; and falling upon his knees, called upon

God and the British nation to mitigate the wretched situation of his suffering countrymen.

The above may be considered as an exact picture of the horrors to which female slavery is exposed throughout the regencies of Tunis and Algiers.*

A Moor, named Hajunis, lately spoliated of nearly all his property by the bey, had a whole family, natives of Pantalaria, in his service, having originally bought them at a very high price. They were not taken away from him in the general wreck of his fortunes: this family has been thirteen years at Tunis; and when first taken from their native home, consisted of the father, mother, and five children, two males and three females; a boy and a girl have died since their captivity. The father has often assured me that the death of his son was occasioned by the excessive cruelty he experienced for many causes, but more particularly for his refusal to embrace Mahometanism. This was so insisted on by his master, that it was only left for him to choose between death and apostacy: the youth virtuously preferred the former, and has added one more to the many who have in this country fallen a sacrifice to persecution. The disconsolate parents continue, with the remainder of the family, to suffer all the horrors of their situation. They have two daughters between eighteen and twenty-one years of age. The appearance and amiable simplicity of these victims of misfortune is extremely interesting; the youngest, from her personal beauty, has been destined to go through the various trials of misery

* At Tripoli there are no female slaves.

peculiar to the rest of her sex in Tunis; she has for the last six years, in opposition to continued corporal punishment, chains, and imprisonment, supported the dignity of Christianity in an extraordinary degree, shewing to her fellow-sufferers a greatness of soul, as admirable in itself as it is honourable to her own character.*

The Tunisians do what the Algerines never do, *exchange* their captives; but with their usual capricious injustice, they claim five Moors for two Christians. They have a regular rate of ransom for different nations, the lowest of which is the British, amounting to fifteen hundred piastres per individual. Wherever Bonaparte acquired dominions in Italy, he immediately ransomed such of his new subjects as were in Moorish slavery. This indeed was politic humanity, worthy of imitation.

In taking leave of Tunis, we feel it our duty to notice something connected with the iniquities of this capital, which, however calculated to shock the eye of delicacy, ought not to be suppressed whilst professing to draw a true picture of manners and customs.

It has already been shown, that every sense, either of public or private virtue, is extinguished in this part of the world: and it is a melancholy fact, that the most *unnatural propensities* are practised by the principal officers of state, as well as by the beys, and that in the most open and profligate manner. The young Christian slaves are but too often the objects of these horrid vices; and the prime minister in the year 1811, whose conduct was more in-

* Letters from the Mediterranean, vol. ii. p. 205, et seq.

famously notorious than that of his master, is said to have owed his greatness and influence to his ready acquiescence, when a slave, in these detestable practices.

It is unnecessary to say more upon this disgusting subject, than that these vile crimes, originating with the higher classes have had that influence which example never fails to produce, and are extended all over the regency; so that by the mass of the people they are no longer considered infamous.*

There is another species of slavery on the African coast, not less painful than that which we have just described. It is of *shipwrecked mariners*; some particulars of which were given to the world a few years since by MR. JACKSON, in his account of the kingdom of Morocco, from which we have before quoted. That part of the

* Another anecdote in confirmation of this remark, and we shall drop the subject. Lorenza Lena, an interesting Italian girl, had been a slave for seven years, and at last became the property of Sidi Mahomet Beneid, a monster of the most refined cruelty, and a perfect demon in the diabolical and infamous indulgence of a *well-known Moorish appetite*. Resolute in refusing to submit to his brutal desires, she was ordered to receive *one thousand bastinadoes* on the soles of her feet; and for three months she was obliged to endure all the pains of hunger and thirst, being limited to the daily allowance of a handful of corn, some roots, and about two gills of water. Still her mind was superior to torments almost indescribable; she survived her misery, and the lascivious beast was foiled in his purpose. Happy are we to say, that this unfortunate girl was saved by the gallantry of a British officer, a few years since, who effected her escape in the disguise of a young midshipman. But for the interesting narrative of this noble exploit, and many curious particulars connected with it, we must refer our readers to Mr. Blaquiere's excellent "*Letters from the Mediterranean*," vol. ii. p. 212.

African coast (he observes) which lies between the latitudes of 20 and 32 degrees north, has been differently laid down in various charts, but, perhaps, never yet accurately. The Spaniards, who fish on this coast eastward of the Canary Islands, assure us that soundings are to be found quite across to the Continent, and there is a tradition among the Arabs, that in very remote ages those islands formed part of the African continent. In support of this tradition, it may be observed, that the aborigines of Lancerotta resemble in manners, in physiognomy, and in person, the Africans, and retain some of their customs.

That part of the coast, which lies between the above mentioned latitudes, is a desert country interspersed with immense hills of loose sand, which are from time to time driven by the wind into various forms, and so impregnate the air with sand for many miles out at sea, as to give to the atmosphere an appearance of hazy weather : navigators not aware of this circumstance, never suspect, during such appearances, that they are near land, until they discover the breakers on the coast, which is so extremely flat, that one may walk a mile into the sea without being over the knees, so that ships strike when at a considerable distance from the beach ; added to this, there is a current, which sets in from the west toward Africa, with inconceivable force and rapidity, with which the navigator being generally unacquainted, he loses his reckoning, and in the course of a night, perhaps, when he expects to clear the African coast in his passage southward, he is alarmed with the appearance of shoal water, and before he has time to recover him-

self, finds his ship aground, on a desert shore, where neither habitation nor human being is visible. In this state, his fears are soon increased by a persuasion that he must either perish in fighting a horde of wild Arabs, or submit to become their captive; for soon after a ship strikes, some wandering Arabs strolling from their duar in the Desert, perceive the masts from the sand hills; and without coming to the shore, repair to their horde, perhaps thirty or forty miles off, to apprize them of the wreck; when they immediately assemble, arming themselves with daggers, guns, and cudgels. Sometimes two or three days or more elapse before they make their appearance on the coast, where they await the usual alternative of the crew, either delivering themselves up, rather than perish with hunger, or throwing themselves into the sea. When the former takes place, quarrels frequently ensue among the Arabs, about the possession of the sailors, disputing for the captain or mate because he is better dressed, or discovers himself to them in some other way. They afterwards go in boats, and take every thing portable from the vessel, and then if the sea do not dash it to pieces, set fire to it, in order that it may not serve as a warning to other ships, which may be so unfortunate as to follow the same course.* Sometimes in these wrecks, the poor

* We will here mention a stratagem by which a sailor a few years since saved a ship on this coast, as it may be of use to some future navigator:—The vessel was stranded, and one of the crew being a Spaniard, who had been used to fish there from the Canaries, advised the captain to let go an anchor, as if the vessel were riding and in safety; some Arabs coming on board, the captain told them

seamen perceiving what savages they have to contend with, (though they are far from being so savage and inhospitable as their appearance indicates) determine on making resistance, and by means of cannon, small arms, &c. maintain a temporary defence, until a few falling from the superiority of numbers, they at length yield, and deliver themselves up.

The Arabs going nearly in a state of nature, wearing nothing but a cloth or rag to cover their nakedness, immediately strip their unhappy victims, and march them up the country barefooted, like themselves. The feet of Europeans, from their not being accustomed, like the Arabs, to this mode of travelling, soon begin to swell with the heat of the burning sand over which they pass; the Arab considering only his booty, does not give himself the trouble to inquire into the cause of this, but abstemious and unexhausted himself, he conceives his unfortunate captive will, by dint of fatigue and travelling, become so too. In these marches the Europeans suffer the pains of fatigue and hunger in a most dreadful degree; for the Arab will go fifty miles a day without tasting food, and at night will content himself with a little barley-meal mixed with cold water, miserable fare for an English seaman, who (to use the term that is applied to the richest men among the Arabs) eats meat every day.

to bring their gums and other produce, for they were come to trade with them, and were going away again in a few days; as it happened to be low water, the vessel on the return of the tide floated, they then weighed anchor, and set sail, leaving the astonished Arabs to wonder at their ingenuity.

They carry the Christian captives about the Desert, to the different markets to sell them, for they very soon discover that their habits of life render them altogether unserviceable, or very inferior to the black slaves, which they procure from Timbuctoo. After travelling three days to one market, five to another, nay sometimes fourteen, they at length become objects of commercial speculation, and the itinerant Jew traders, who wander about from Wedinoon to sell their wares, find means to barter for them tobacco, salt, a cloth garment, or any other thing, just as a combination of circumstances may offer, and then return to Wedinoon with the purchase. If the Jew have a correspondent at Mogador, he writes to him, that a ship had been wrecked, mentioning the flag or nation she belonged to, and requests him to inform the agent, or consul, of the nation of which the captain is a subject; in the mean time flattering the poor men, that they will shortly be liberated and sent to Mogador; where they will meet their countrymen: a long and tedious servitude, however, generally follows, for want of a regular fund at Mogador for the redemption of these people. The agent can do nothing but write to the consul-general at Tangier; this takes up nearly a month, before an answer is received, and the merchants at Mogador being so little protected by their respective governments, and having various immediate uses for their money, are very unwilling to advance for the European interest of five per cent: so that the time lost in writing to the government of the country to whom the unfortunate captives belong, the necessity of procuring the money for their purchase previous to their

emancipation, and various other circumstances, form impediments to their liberation. I knew an instance where a merchant had advanced the money for one of these captives, who, had his ransom not been paid, would have been obliged to return to the south, where he would have been sold, or compelled to embrace the Mahometan religion; for the British Vice-consul had not the purchase money, nor any orders to redeem him, having previously sent to the consul general an account of the purchase of the rest of the crew. This man was delivered up by the merchant who had redeemed him, to the British Vice-consul to whom he looked for payment; various applications were made to the consul general, but the money was not paid two years afterwards, all applications to government having failed: a representation of the case was next made to a society in London, which has been established ever since the year 1724, for the redemption of British slaves in Turkey and Barbary, which, after deliberating on the matter, agreed to pay the merchant the money he had advanced. The purchase money in this case, including the cost of clothes, (for the man was naked when purchased) did not amount altogether to *forty pounds*; there was, however, so much trouble attending the accomplishment of the business, that no individual merchant has since ventured to make an advance on a similar security, for, not to mention the difficulty of recovering the principal at the expiration of a long period, the value of money is such at Mogador that merchants are unwilling to advance it at a low interest, six per cent. per month being often paid for it. It is in this manner that the subjects

of a great maritime power have been neglected in a country where, by adopting a few political regulations, all the hardships of bondage might be prevented.*

The bequest alluded to by Mr. Jackson, was that of a MR. THOMAS BRETTON, a Turkey merchant, who gave by will to the *Ironmongers' Company* in trust about TWENTY-SIX THOUSAND POUNDS, one half of the profits of which was to be perpetually employed in the redemption of British captives from Moorish slavery, and the other half to be equally distributed between the poor of the Company, and the several charity schools within the city and liberty thereof. There is a fund also in the hands of the RECORDER, intended for the same benevolent purpose.

Another instance of our countrymen having been relieved from African bondage, by the fund left to the IRONMONGERS' COMPANY, occurred a few years since. It was in the territory of Algiers, called Gigiri, the inhabitants of which continue in a state of the utmost ignorance and barbarity, and entirely uncontrolled by the Dey. An English vessel happened to be wrecked in this quarter, in 1807, and the crew, consisting of sixteen persons, were immediately carried up the country, where they were sold to different masters, and devoted to the most severe labour; nor was it in their power to communicate with our consul-general at Algiers for several months: when that took place, Mr. Blankley, with the zeal and humanity for which he is so eminently distinguished, instantly applied for their

* See Jackson's Account of Morocco, p. 226.

liberation, and obtained it for a very trifling consideration, which he first paid out of his own pocket, and then applied to the funds in England: to the recorder his application was in vain, but the Iron-mongers' Company, with a liberality only known to British corporate bodies, paid immediate attention to the consul's demand, and in a letter, every line of which breathed sentiments of humanity, thanked him for his conduct, and proffered future aid whenever it should be rendered necessary.*

Whilst the Europeans remain in the hands of the Arabs and Jews, they are employed in various domestic services, such as bringing water, possibly the distance of nine or ten miles, to the habitation, and in collecting fire-wood. In performing these offices, their feet, being bare, and treading on the heated sand, become blistered and inflamed, the sandy particles penetrate into these blisters when broken, and irritate in such a manner as sometimes to cause mortification and death. The young lads, of which there are generally two or three in every ship's crew, are often seduced by the Arabs to become Mahometans; in this case, the shaick or chief of the duar adopts him, and initiates him in the Koran, by sending him to the Mdursa, (seminary) where he learns to read the sacred volume, and is instructed in the pronunciation of the Arabic language; he is named after the shaick who adopts him, after which an Arabian woman is offered to him as a wife; he marries, has a family, and becomes one of the clan, thus abandoning for ever his native country and connections.

* Blaquiere's Letters, vol. ii. p. 203, *Note*.

Of the vessels wrecked from time to time on the coast of the Desert, or Sahara, many are probably never heard of, and if any of the crew survive their hardships, they are induced, seeing no prospect of emancipation, to become Mahometans, and nothing is afterwards known or heard of them; the vessel is supposed to have foundered at sea, and all passes into oblivion. Of vessels whose loss has been learnt by accident, (such as the sailors falling into the hands of Wedinoon Jews, or Moors,) there may have been from the year 1790 to the year 1806, thirty of different nations, part of whose crews have afterwards found their way to Morocco, and given some account of their catastrophe; these may be thus divided:—

English, 17.—French, 5.—American, 5.—Dutch, Danish, Swedish, &c. 3.

Of the English vessels the crews probably amounted to 200 men and boys, who may be thus accounted for:

Young men and boys either drowned, killed, or induced to embrace the Mahometan religion,	-	-	-	40
Old men and others killed by the Arabs in the first scuffle, when making opposition, or defending themselves; also, drowned in getting ashore,	-	-	-	40
Dispersed in various parts of the Desert, after a lapse of time, in consequence of the consul making no offers sufficiently advantageous to induce the Arabs to bring them to Mogador (which should always be done as				

soon as possible after the wreck, and a price given superior to that of a native slave,) 40

120

Redeemed after a tedious existence among the Arabs of from one to five years, originating from various causes, such as a want of application being made through the proper channel, want of remitting money for their purchase, &c. &c. - - 80

If any nation of Europe ought to inquire into the mode of remedying this evil, it is certainly Great Britain, whose influence at the court of Morocco might be made very considerable, and advantageous to the country; a trifling sum would be sufficient at Mogador, if deposited in the hands of the vice-consul, or any merchant of respectability, where it might remain ready to be employed in the purchase of these unfortunate people, and by allowing a sum rather above the price of a black slave, the Arabs would immediately bring them to Mogador, knowing they could depend on an adequate price; by this means they might be procured for half what they now cost; and it would be an infinitely better plan than that of soliciting the Emperor to procure them through the bashaw of Suse; for, besides the delay, and consequent protracted sufferings of the captives, the favour is considered by the Emperor as incalculably more than the cost and charges of their purchase.

It is generally a month or two before the news of a shipwreck reaches Mogador, at which time, if a fund were there deposited, a hundred and fifty

dollars would be sufficient to purchase each man; yet, often from the scarcity of specie, and the various demands which the merchants have for their money, they have it not in their power (however charitably disposed) to redeem these poor men; and if they do, it is at their own risk, and they must wait to know if the government chooses to reimburse their expenses.*

In concluding this chapter, it were an injustice to the Dey of Algiers, and the bey of Tunis, to omit noticing the tyrannical acts of their *brother of Tripoli*, who emulates these rival sovereigns in the most wanton acts of oppression and cruelty. We select the following instances, therefore, from Mr. Blaquiere's Narrative.

A dispute having arisen between one of the Maltese inn-keepers, and the Jew who farms the exclusive right of importing spirits and wine, the latter struck the Maltese, and cut his head open; the matter being naturally brought before our consul, under whose immediate protection the natives of Malta are placed, as being British subjects; he remonstrated strongly with the bashaw, and even insisted on the Jew being punished for his conduct; but far from paying the smallest attention to his representation, his highness gave the affair a partial hearing, and influenced by the Jew's assertions, granted a *teskira*, or written order, for the expulsion of the Maltese from Tripoli, by which the unfortunate man was ruined! The consul determined to persevere in the execution of his duty, particularly

* Jackson's Account of Morocco, p. 232.

in a case wherein such a gross insult had been offered to the British nation, and the treaty violated, could not even succeed in obtaining an audience for some time, although that can never be denied, as stipulated in the treaties. When he did, and proceeded to vindicate the injured rights of an English subject, as became the agent of his Majesty, his highness flew into a most violent rage, and starting from his throne, ran towards Mr. Langford; when, being on the point of drawing one of his pistols, the attendants interposed, and represented the rashness of his conduct. After this affair, the British consul never went near the bashaw's person, although alternately threatened and invited to do so, for upwards of six months; until his highness recognizing his errors, apologized, and caused a royal salute of twenty-eight guns to be fired in honour of his Britannic majesty.

In addition to the above, another instance of the bashaw's violence, and of a still more outrageous cast, remains to be told. Having conceived a dislike to the Portuguese consul, Mr. M'Donogh, who had rendered his highness the most important services, during a residence of nineteen years in the regency, a messenger was one day sent to his house to inform him from the bashaw, "that understanding he was about to leave Tripoli, (for in fact Mr. M'Donogh having arranged some matters in which the Spanish interests were very deeply involved, was going back to Cadiz with the result of his negociation,) his highness begged to remind him that until a debt of four thousand Spanish dollars, alleged to be due to some Jews by Mr. M'Donogh, should be paid, he could not leave

the Regency ; and furthermore, if he did not pay it immediately, the bashaw would put him in prison and load him with irons." It was in vain that Mr. M'Donogh represented his being totally ignorant of any debt of the kind ; and in his reiterated explanations observed, that after a lapse of so many years, it was very singular such a demand should have been made on him : he therefore, for some time, resisted the demand, until a guard was actually placed at his door to prevent his going out ; in fact, converting the consular house of a friendly state, particularly the near ally of England, into a prison. Naturally alarmed at the extraordinary conduct of his highness, any further remonstrance was useless, and Mr. M'Donogh consented to give bills on London for a sum, thus extorted from him, in hope that the sacrifice, great as it was, might lead to his emancipation : it did not, however, produce any such effect ; for having delivered the bills of exchange, he was informed that he could not leave Tripoli, till the payment of these bills was ascertained ! This much injured personage was therefore, contrary to every law of justice and reason, forcibly detained for several months afterwards ; and even when the account of his bills having been taken up, came to this place, found considerable difficulty in getting away.

CHAP. VI.

Narrative of a British Seaman who was detained fifteen years a prisoner by the Algerines,—the way in which he was treated by them, and the numerous cruelties which he suffered during his long Captivity,—his return to England, and his reception there.—Written by himself.

WITHIN eight and forty hours after I was sold,* I tasted of Algerine barbarity ; for I had my tender feet tied up, and beaten twenty or thirty blows for a beginning : and thus was I beat for a considerable time, every two or three days, besides blows now and then, forty, fifty, sixty, at a time. My executioner would fill his pipe, and then give me ten or twenty blows, then stop, and smoke his pipe for a while, and then he would at me again ; and when weary stop again ; thus cruelly would he handle me till his pipe was out. At other times, he would hang me up neck and heels, and then beat me miserably. Sometimes he would hang me up by the arm-pits, beating me all over my body. And oftentimes hot brine was ordered for me to put my feet in, after

* For an account of the manner in which the writer was taken prisoner by the Algerines, and his being sold as a slave, see p. 23. The present narrative is given *verbatim* from this honest seaman's journal, a plain unvarnished tale, and as such is entitled to the highest credit.

they were sore with beating; which made them smart exceedingly, and put me to intolerable pain. Sometimes I have been beaten on my feet so long, and cruelly, that the blood hath ran down to the ground. But as I shall presently speak further of the cruelties which I suffered, I shall only say for the present, that I have oftentimes been beaten by my patroon (master) so violently, that I have not been able to sit for a considerable time.*

I was sold three times; my first patroon was called Mustapha, the second Ibrahim, and the third Eumer: but I must needs acknowledge, that with my last patroon I lived very comfortably. But this was not satisfaction; I longed still to be gone out of this country, and my chief reason was, that I might worship God as I ought. As for the Mahometan worship, I was persuaded it could not be agreeable to his will; and I suppose every one must agree with me herein, if they have read an impartial account of it.†

My first patroon would, when exercising his barbarous cruelty upon me, press me to turn mussulman; but all this while I did not believe that he was really willing I should so do, but only he might

* The correction they will give scholars, or children at work, is beating them on the bare feet; and the punishment inflicted on soldiers, is beating them on the buttocks, and this frequently with such severity, though the crime be not very great, as to make the blood come out through their drawers; and sometimes the flesh mortifies thereupon, so that they must have some part cut off in order to a cure. If they are so rigorous and severe among themselves, well may you think what cruelty they exercise towards the poor captives!

† See an account of the Mahometan religion, at p. 169.

think, that he discharged his duty in importuning me thereunto. And my reason why I thought so, is, because I knew at that time he could badly sustain such a loss; for it was not very long before he bought a little boy of Dover, who soon renounced his holy religion, and died some years afterwards. This cruel man I lived with about two or three months, and then he sent me to sea in one of the ships to attend upon the *toepgee bashe*, or the head gunner. We made, as they said, but a very indifferent voyage, for we took but one ship, and that a Portuguese, with eighteen slaves. We were out about two months, to my great ease and content; but when we were returning to Algiers, and I out of hopes of being retaken for that time, my heart began to be heavy with the thoughts of entering again into my former misery: but there was no remedy but patience; into the hands of the tyrant I must fall again. But, blessed be God, within a few days he sold me, and so I was out of the possession of that inhuman wretch.

When I was selling, in the shop where I was at work, I understood nothing of the matter; but the bargain being concluded, my new patroon and two friends that were with him, went up stairs, and I followed them. My clothes were taken and packed up, and away I must go. I thought now I should have three patroons, which I was afraid would be worse than one; but a Moor who lived on the other side of the way, knowing what an hard patroon I had, because he had often seen me beaten in the shop, bid his slave, who was an Englishman, tell me my new patroon was better than the old. This comforted me a little. My new patroon not living

in Algiers, took me to a friend's house of his, who kept a mistress in the house, and with her was I left. In the evening the man of the house came with my patroon, who brought a madam with him. A taverner, at the same time, brought wine and victuals, on which they were very merry. The next morning they went out, and left me again with the woman. When the taverner, who was a Spaniard, came for his bottles, I desired him to ask her, what my patroon designed to do with me? She told him, I was bought to be made a present of to his brother at Tunis. And there, says the Spaniard, you may, perhaps, in time, be redeemed by the consul; which made me much easier than I was before.

My second patroon lived in the country, and was called by the name of *dilberre Ibrahim*, i. e. handsome Abraham; for note, that the Turks are mostly nick-named, especially those that are soldiers. If a man be blind in one eye, they call him Blind Hugh, or what his name is. If tall, Long such an one. If short, Short such an one. If in his younger days given to much drinking, *Sorhowsh*, or Drunken such an one. If black-browed, then black-browed such an one; which is esteemed the greatest beauty among them, &c. Besides, this way of nick-naming, they often use another manner of distinction, calling men by the name of their country: as Exeter John, Welsh Tom, or the like. But all this by the way. He had several slaves, both Christians and negroes; and I happened to lose a shirt, which indeed was scarce worth looking after; and it seems one of the negroes had stolen it. I had it again, and said but little about the matter. But some time after this, I lost my jacket; whereupon I made my complaint

to our patroon ; he told me, he would beat all the slaves round but he would find out the thief. Upon which, one of the negroes stood up, and said, “ Sir, there is no reason that all should suffer for one ; and therefore, if I may presume so far, there is at Bleda, a place about three miles from our country house, a black woman, who can, as they say, tell fortunes, and inform people where their lost goods are.” Upon which, my patroon appointed two negroes to go with me to the said cunning woman. When we came into her house, I told her, that we came to be informed of something by her. Upon which she took a thing like a dish, and put meal into it, and after she had smoothed over the meal, and made it plain, she bid me put my hand on it, and withal, to think within myself what I would be informed of. Accordingly I did, and my thought was to know where my jacket was. In two or three minutes time she told me, that I had some time before lost a white thing. I told her I had so ; which I understood to be my shirt. She then answered me, that the same person who stole my shirt had stolen my jacket ; which proved to be the negro aforesaid, by his own confession. I was much surprised at this discovery, but repent of my folly in going to such a person on any such account.

This my second patroon had two brothers in Algiers, and a third in Tunis. The middle brother had designed to make a voyage to Tunis, to see his brother there ; and, it seems, I was bought in order to be given as a present to him. I was then clothed very fine, that I might be the better accepted. The ship being ready, we put to sea, and in about four-

teen or fifteen days time we arrived at Tunis, and went forthwith to my patroon's brother's house, who had two wives, which lived each in a house distant from one another. The next day my patroon's brother's son, taking a pride to have a Christian to wait upon him, made me walk after him. I was ready and glad to do it, because I was desirous to see the city. As I was attending upon my new master through the streets, I met with a gentleman habited like a Christian, not knowing him to be an Englishman, as he was. He looked earnestly upon me, and asked me, whether I was not an Englishman? I answered him, yea. How came you hither? said he. I told him I came with my patroon. What, are you a slave? said he. I replied, yes. To what place do you belong? continued he. To Algiers, quoth I. But he was not willing to enter into any further discourse with me in the public street, and therefore desired the young man on whom I waited, that he would please, at such an hour of the day, to bring me to his house, with a promise of an hearty welcome. The young man assured him he would; for being a drinker of wine, and knowing the plenty of it in the said gentleman's house, he was the rather willing to go.

After the gentleman was gone from us, my new young master told me, that he whom we talked with was the English consul; which I was glad to hear. We went, as appointed, to the consul's house, where, when we came, I was directed up to his chamber, the young spark in the mean time being eating and drinking in another room. The consul asked me many questions about my country, parentage, &c. And withal, whether I could write,

and understood arithmetic. I told him I could do both tolerably. He called for pen, ink, and paper, and bid me write a line. The words which came into my mind, I very well remember, were these, *The Lord be my guide, in him I will trust*; which he seemed very well pleased with. Then he asked me what I thought was the inducement for my patroon to buy me; I told him, he designed me for a present to his brother here, at Tunis. Upon the whole, the consul kindly told me, if I were left in Tunis, he would order matters to my satisfaction; but if my patroon designed to carry me back again to Algiers, I should acquaint him with it in season: and in the mean time, he bid me, if I had so much liberty to come every day to his house, where I should be welcome.

After I had been in Tunis about thirty days, I understood that my patroon's brother cared not to accept of me, and that therefore I was to return to Algiers. This very much troubled me; upon which I went to the consul and acquainted him with it. The consul told me, that he and other two merchants (there being no more English merchants in the town) would the next day come and talk with my patroon about me; and that if his demands were not too high, they would purchase my redemption. And if so, says he, you must tarry two or three years (seven said I) with me, and then you shall go home when I do. They came accordingly with their interpreter, and asked him whether he was willing to sell me; he told them he was, upon terms. They asked him what price he put upon me; he told them five hundred dollars, which was, I suppose, three hundred more than he bought me

for. They offered two hundred; he made a slight of that, and laughed at them. They advanced to two hundred and fifty dollars; he still made a pish of it. They at length came up to three hundred dollars, which is near sixty pounds sterling; but my patroon plainly told them, he would not abate one *asper*, i. e. about five farthings, of his demands. At which the consul told me that I must have patience, for a hundred pounds was a considerable sum to be contributed by three only, and Providence might work some other way. Upon hearing this, I burst into tears, notwithstanding, returning them a thousand thanks for their generous goodwill. The consul laid his hand on my head, and bid me serve God and be cheerful; and promised me, that as soon as he returned to England he would prefer a petition to the king for me, and so parted from me.

My hopes were thus all dashed, which was no small trouble to me; but patience overcomes all disappointments and afflictions.

My patroon now carried me on board in order to go back again for Algiers. The vessel in which we went was bound no further than *Bona*, which is near half way to Algiers; so that when we came thither my patroon hired two mules, on which we came by land to Algiers, which is about two hundred and fifty miles.

About two months after this, my chief patroon, being captain of a troop of horse, was sent to Tunis by land, with about twenty *spahys*, and carried me with him also; so that I was not wanting from Tunis above four months before my second coming thither. The next day after we came now

to Tunis, I was sent out on an errand, and accidentally met with the worthy consul again. When he saw me, what, my boy said he, art thou come again? Yes sir, said I, I came now with my chief patroon. While you were absent, said he, I bought a young man for my purpose, for considerably less than I offered for you; but however you may tell this your patroon, that if he be disposed to sell you, I will stand to my proposal. I gave him many thanks, and went immediately, and told my patroon of it; who surlily answered me, *seu le mang keu pek*. i. e. hold your peace you dog! I saw that there was no good to be done with him, and therefore desisted.

We returned back to Algiers in some small time; and a little after that, he carried me into camp with him; and it so happened, that his two brothers being *spahys*, or troopers, were with him in one and the same tent. His younger brother would be frequently behind his back, and sometimes before his face, persuading me to turn Mahometan, and to gain me made me large offers; but I little regarded them. And I can truly appeal to Almighty God, that it was not out of choice, or inclination, or persuasion, or any temporal advantage, that I became a Mahometan, for I abhorred the thoughts of such an apostasy.

The eldest brother, who was my chief patroon, I found was not very fond of my turning; for he would often threaten me, that if I did turn Turk, and did not learn my book well, he would beat me soundly. But when his younger brother, who had been so often pampering with me, saw that no arguments nor offers would prevail, he began to lie very close to his brother to force me to turn; and as an

argument, would often tell him, “ that he had been a profligate and debauched man in his time, and a murderer ; and that the proselyting me would be some sort of an atonement for his past impieties ; and flatly told him, that otherwise he would never go to heaven.” Whereupon, as guilty men are willing to lay hold on every pretence to happiness, though never so slight and groundless, the eldest brother endeavoured to persuade me ; and finding that would not do, he threatened to send me hundreds of miles off into the country, where I should never see the face of any Christian. But finding all these methods to be ineffectual to the end they drove at, the two brothers consulted together, and resolved upon cruelty and violence, to see what that would do.

Accordingly, on a certain day, when my patroon’s barber came to trim him, I being there to give attendance, my patroon bid me kneel down before him ; which I did : he then ordered the barber to cut off my hair with his scissars ; but I mistrusting somewhat of their design, struggled with them ; but by stronger force my hair was cut off, and then the barber went about to shave my head, my patroon all the while holding my hands. I kept shaking my head, and he kept striking me in the face. After my head, with much ado, was shaved, my patroon would have me take off my clothes, and put on the Turkish habit ; I told him plainly I would not ; whereupon I was forthwith hauled away to another tent, in which we kept our provision ; where were two men, viz. the cook and the steward ; one of which held me, while the other

stripped me, and put on me the Turkish garb. I all this while kept crying, and told my patroon, that although he had changed my habit, yet he could never change my heart. The night following, before he lay down to sleep, he called me, and bid me kneel down by his bed-side, and then used entreaties that I would gratify him in renouncing my religion. I told him it was against my conscience, and withal desiring him to sell me, and buy another boy, who perhaps might more easily be won; but as for my part, I was afraid I should be everlastingly damned, if I complied with this request. He told me, he would pawn his soul for mine, and many other importunate expressions did he use.

At length I desired him to let me go to bed, and I would pray to God, and if I found any better reasons suggested to my mind than what I had then, to turn, by the next morning, I did not know what I might do; but if I continued in the same mind I was, I desired him to say no more to me on that subject: this he agreed to, and so I went to bed. But, whatever ailed him, having not patience to stay till the morning for my answer, he awoke me in the night, and asked me what my sentiments now were; I told him they were the same as before. Then he took me by the right hand, and endeavoured to make me hold up the fore-finger, as they usually do when they speak those words, viz. *la Allah ellallah, Mohammed resul Allah*, which initiates them Turks, as I have related before, but I did with all my might bend it down, so that he saw nothing was to be done with me without violence; upon which he presently called two of his servants, and command-

ed them to tie up my feet with a rope to the post of the tent ; and when they had so done, he with a great cudgel fell a beating of me upon my bare feet : and being a very strong man, and full of passion, his blows fell heavy indeed ; and the more he beat me, the more chafed and enraged he was, and declared, that, in short, if I would not turn, he would beat me to death. I roared out to feel the pain of his cruel strokes, but the more I cried, the more furiously he laid on, and to stop the noise of my crying, would stamp with his feet on my mouth ; at which I begged him to dispatch me out of the way, but he continued beating me.

After I had endured this merciless usage so long, till I was ready to faint and die under it, and saw him as mad and implacable as ever, I begged him to forbear, and I would turn ; and breathing a while, but still hanging by the feet, he urged me again to speak the words. Very unwilling I was, and held him in suspense a while, and at length told him, that I could not speak them ; at which he was more enraged than before, and fell at me again in a most barbarous manner. After I had received a great many blows a second time, I beseeched him again to hold his hand, and gave him fresh hopes of my turning Mahometan ; and after I had taken a little more breath, I told him as before, I could not do what he desired. And thus I held him in suspense three or four times ; but at last, seeing his cruelty towards me insatiable, unless I turned, through terror I did it, and spake the words as usual, holding up the fore-finger of my right hand : and presently I was had away to a fire, and care was taken to heal my feet, for they were so

beaten, that I was not able to go upon them for several days, and so I was put to bed.*

* The punishment of the *bastinado*, is one of the most dreadful that can be imagined. A very affecting account of it is given by Mr. Antes, in his "Observations on the Manners, &c. of the Egyptians."

On the 15th of Nov. 1779, returning from a short country excursion to Grand Cairo, he was seized by some of the attendants of Osman Bey, a Mamaluke chief; and after stripping him of his clothes, they demanded money; which he not having about him, they dragged him before the bey, telling him that he was a European, from whom he might get something. In order to extort money from him, the bey ordered him to be *bastinadoed*: they first threw him down flat on his face, and then bent up his legs, so that the soles of his feet were horizontal; they then brought a strong staff, about six feet long, with an iron chain fixed to it at both ends. This chain they threw round both feet above the ancles, and twisted them together; and two fellows on each side, provided with what they call a *corbace*, held up the soles of his feet by means of the stick. When thus placed, an officer whispered in his ear, "*Do not suffer yourself to be beaten; give him a thousand dollars, and he will let you go.*" Mr. Antes, not willing to give up the money which he had received for goods of other merchants, refused: the two men then began to beat the soles of his feet, at first moderately; but when a second application for money was refused, and then the demand was two thousand dollars, they began to lay on more roughly, and *every stroke felt like the application of a red hot poker*. Finding they could get no money, supposing he might have some choice goods, a third application was made to him by the officer; he told them he had a fine silver-mounted blunderbuss at his lodging which he would give. The bey asked what he offered; the officer sneered, and said, *bir carabina*, i. e. "one blunderbuss;" on which the bey said, *ettrup il Kulp*, "beat the dog." Then they began to *lay on with all their might*. "At first," says Mr. Antes, "the pain was excruciating; but after some time, my feeling grew numb, and it was like beating a bag of wool." Finding that nothing was to be got from him, and knowing that he had done nothing to deserve punishment, the bey ordered them to let

All the ceremony that any person who turns Mahometan by compulsion uses, is only holding up the fore-finger of the right hand, and pronouncing the words before mentioned. But when any person voluntarily turns from his religion to the Mahometan, there is a great deal of formality used. Many there are who so turn out of choice, without any terror or severity shewn them. Sometimes in a mad, or drunken humour; sometimes to avoid the punishment due to some great crime committed by them, as murder, or the like: I speak of persons belonging to English, or other ships at anchor at

him go. One of the attendants anointed his feet, and bound them up with some rags, put him on an ass, and conducted him to his house in Cairo, and laid him on his bed, where he was confined for six weeks before he could walk even with crutches; and for more than three years his feet and ankles were very much swelled: and, though twenty had elapsed, when he published this account, his feet and ankles were so affected, that on any strong exertion, they were accustomed to swell.

He mentions instances of the bastinado having been applied for three days successively; and, if the person survived, *the feet were rendered useless for life*; but in general, he observes, when they have received *between five and six hundred strokes, the blood gushes from their mouth and nose, and they die either under, or soon after the operation*. How he felt his mind affected on this distressing occasion, he thus piously describes: "I at once gave up myself for lost, well knowing that my life depended on the caprice of a brute, in human shape; and having heard and seen such examples of unrelenting cruelty, I could not expect to fare better than others had done before me; I had therefore nothing left, but to cast myself on the mercy of God, commending my soul to him; and indeed I must in gratitude confess, that I experienced His support most powerfully; so that all fear of death was taken from me: and if I could have bought my life for one halfpenny, I should, I believe, have hesitated to accept the offer."

Algiers ; such will get ashore, if possible, and often become Mahometans, being afraid to return to their own country.

Now when any person so turns Mahometan, he goes to the court, where the Dey and divan, i. e. his council, sits, and there declares his willingness to be a Mahometan ; upon which he is immediately accepted, without demanding of him any reason for his so doing. After which, the apostate is to get on horseback, on a stately steed, with a rich saddle, and fine trappings : he is also richly habited, and hath a turban on his head, but to be sure, not of a green colour, for none durst wear their turbans of that colour, but such as are of Mahomet's blood : but nothing of this is to be called his own ; only there is given him about two or three yards of broad cloth, which is laid before him on the saddle. The horse, with him on his back, is led all round the city ; and he carries an arrow in his right hand, holding it straight up, and thereby supporting the fore-finger of his right hand, which he holds up against it ; this he doth all the while he is riding round the city, which he is several hours in doing ; but if he happen to be tired with long holding up his fore-finger against the arrow, he may now and then take it off for a moment, and then up with it again in the said posture.

The apostate is attended with drums, and other music, and twenty or thirty *vekil harges*, or stewards, who, as I told you, are under the *otho bashes*, or serjeants ; these march in order on each side of the horse, with naked swords in their hands, intimating thereby, as I was informed, that if he should repent, and shew the least inclination of retracting what he had declared before the Dey and divan,

he deserved to be cut in pieces; and the *rekil harges* would accordingly do it. There are likewise two persons who stand one on each side of the street, as he marcheth through, to gather what people are pleased to give, by way of encouragement to the new convert, as they call him, and it may be, one here and there drops a farthing or halfpenny; it is much if any be so zealous as to give a penny. After this show and ceremony is over, he is immediately entered into pay, and directed to the place where he shall quarter, with some of his fellow-soldiers; and within a few days, the *seunet gee* of the town, i. e. the circumciser, comes and performs the ceremony of circumcision: and then he is a Turk to all intents and purposes. It is reported by some, that when any thus voluntarily turn Mahometan, he throws a dart at the picture of Jesus Christ, in token of his disowning him as the Saviour of the world, and preferring Mahomet to him; but there is no such usage: and they who relate such things, deceive the world. I am sure I have reason (God pardon me!) to know every thing in use among them of this nature; and I assure the reader there is never any such thing done.

The cryer goes before, with a loud voice giving thanks to God, for the proselyte that is made; and at some particular places of the city, especially in the *casharees*, or the places where many of the soldiers dwell together, the multitude hold up their hands, giving thanks to God.

I was very much concerned for one of our countrymen, who had endured many years of slavery, and after he was ransomed, went home to his own country; but came again to Algiers, and volunta-

rily, without the least force used towards him, became a Mahometan.

Another Englishman I knew, bred to the trade of a gun-smith, who, after he was ransomed, and only waited for his passage, renegadoed, and chose rather to be a Mahometan, than to return to England.

About two or three months, as near as I can guess, after I was taken a slave, I writ a letter to my father, giving him an account of what had happened; to which I received a kind and affectionate answer. A copy of the letter I have not by me, but I well remember that therein he gave me very good counsel, viz. "To have a care and keep close to God, and to be sure never, by any methods of cruelty that could be used towards me, be prevailed with to deny my blessed Saviour; and that he had rather hear of my death, than of my being a Mahometan." But this first letter of my father came not to my hands till some days after I had, through my patroon's barbarity to me, turned from my religion. Which after (through extreme torture, and out of love to a temporal life,) I had done, I became very sad, and melancholy, considering the danger my poor soul was in. The said letter was taken up in Algiers by my former master, an Englishman, who sent it to the camp, directing it to an English lad, one of the bey's or general's slaves; who being afraid to deliver me the letter openly, slid it into my hand as he past by me. As soon as I cast my eye upon the superscription, I knew it to be my father's hand, and in a great deal of sorrow, made what haste I could out of the camp (pretending to go to ease myself) to read the letter; but when I had opened

it, could scarce read a word for weeping. And I am apt to think, that if the letter had come to my hands before I had turned Turk, my patroon would rather have accepted of the promised ransom for me, than that I should become a Mahometan.

After I had read some part of the letter (for I could not read it through at once, for fear my patroon should find me wanting,) I was ready to sink; I put it up therefore, intending to read the whole another time, and returned to our tent, with a more dejected heart and countenance than before; insomuch that my patroon perceiving it, asked me whether I had been weeping? I replied, sir, you do not see me weep. Many other angry words he had with me; and at length truly my heart was so big, that I could not contain any longer, but fell into tears, and at the same time produced him the letter which I received from my father, and told him that my father would ransom me; and withal added, I am no Turk, but a Christian. My patroon answered me with, hold your tongue, you dog, for if you speak such a word again, I will have a great fire made, and therein burn thee immediately; at which I was forced to be silent.

In two or three days after this, I writ my father a second letter, (which I was forced to do by piece-meal, in a great deal of danger and fear,) in which I gave him a perfect account of the whole matter, and told him the naked truth, lest he should have thought what I did, had been voluntarily, and without any coercion. And in order thereunto, I privately desired the aforesaid English lad, a servant to the bey, to lend me pen, ink, and paper; and took an occasion to go on the outside of the camp,

and there in fear writ two or three lines at a time, as I could, without discovery, till I had finished my epistle.

The substance of my letter was, "that though I was forced by the cruelty which was exercised upon me, to turn Turk, yet I was really a Christian in my heart; (some may term me hypocrite for so doing, but I will not reply any more, than this, that I speak it not to extenuate my sin, but to set the matter in a true light, how I turned, and the reasons of my so doing,) and withal, I assured my father and mother, that I would, as soon as ever I could find an opportunity, endeavour to make my escape; and therefore entreated them to be as contented as they could under their great affliction, and expect what time would produce."*

Some time after my father received this my second letter, he sent me another, which was directed as the former, to my master in Algiers, and he sent it forward, directing it to an Englishman at Bleda, where I then lived, of whom I received it; and I look upon it as a signal providence, for there was but that one Englishman then living in the town. The substance of the letter was as followeth, viz.

* In another part of his journal, the author observes. "I have been often reflected upon for my apostasy, which I desire to bear with patience. I deserve abundantly more than this; however, I have this to comfort me, that they are, for the most part, ignorant, or vile persons, whose censures are not much to be minded: nay, I do not remember, that I have been once reproached for it by any of learning or piety. I do not pretend to excuse what I did; but whether it was voluntarily, or I was a true Mussulman, let any judge, when they have considered what hazard I ran in making my escape. I was in a much fairer way for honour and preferment in Algiers, than I could expect ever to have been in England."

“ Yet I cannot choose but call thee dear and loving son, although thou hast denied thy Redeemer that bought thee; especially, considering the tenderness of thy age, the cruelty of thy usage, and the strength of thy temptations I confess, when I first heard of it, I thought it would have overwhelmed my spirits; and had it not been for divine supporters, it had been a burden too unsupportable for my weak shoulders to have crippled under; especially considering the loss of thy soul.”

But withal, my father in his letter comforted me, with telling me, that he had been with several ministers, who unanimously concurred in their opinion, that I had not sinned the unpardonable sin; one of whom advised my father to write to me. Said my father, “ I shall write very smart if I do.” The good man replied, by no means, but write as tenderly as possible, otherwise you will spoil all; and give him all the encouragement you can. My father followed his advice, and therefore went on as below *

* “ Truly child, I do believe, that what thou hast done with thy mouth, was not with thy heart; and that it was contrary to thy conscience. Take heed of being hardened in thine iniquity; give not away to despondency, nor to desperation. Remember that Peter had not so many temptations to deny his Lord and master, as thou hast had, and yet he obtained mercy; and so mayest thou. Yet the door of grace and mercy is open for thee. I can hardly write to thee for weeping, and my time is but short; and what shall I say to thee more, my poor child? I will pawn the loss of my soul, upon the salvation of thine, that if thou dost but duly and daily repent of this thy horrid iniquity, the blood of that Jesus whom thou hast denied, will cleanse thee from it, and there is sufficient satisfaction in him to save thee to the utmost, or otherwise let me perish. I will promise thee as welcome to me upon thy re-

It pleased God that this my father's second letter, though the cause of many sorrowful reflections in me, did yet administer great support and comfort to me; and I would often go into some bye corner or other, under some hedge of a garden, to read it.

The reader may easily think, that one under my circumstances, could have but very few opportunities of writing home to his parents and friends; which was the reason why I writ no oftener. I had however, some time afterwards, another opportunity of writing to my father, by an Englishman, whom I met, and the letter was nearly as below.*

turn and repentance, as though thou had never done it. And if there be such bowels of pity in an earthly parent, which are but as drops to the ocean, what dost thou think of the boundless mercies of God, whose compassions are like to himself, infinite? I confess, it is something difficult for thee to make thy escape; but yet I am confident, that if thou dost keep close to God, notwithstanding this thy miscarriage, infinite wisdom and power will be set at work to find out ways, in such untrodden paths, as I cannot imagine, for thy relief. Which is the daily prayers of thy

“Affectionate Father, ——”

* “Honoured and dear Father and Mother,

“It is not the want of duty or love, which makes me negligent of writing to you, but it is chiefly the consideration of the little comfort you can take in hearing from me, having been a great grief, and heart-breaking to you.

“Dear father and mother,—how often have I wished that I had departed the world when I hung upon your breasts, that I might not have been the bringer of your grey hairs with sorrow to the ground. Therefore, if you would be an ease to my grief, I desire you to wait God's leisure.

“Your grief, though great, is but little in comparison of mine. Put it to the worst, you have lost but a son; but I, for my part, have lost both a dear father and mother, brothers, relations, friends, ac-

I lived still a miserable life with this my second patroon, and was oftentimes so beaten by him, that my blood ran down upon the ground. After I had thus turned Turk, he had rather less kindness for me than before; and one reason was, because he thought that I was no true Mussulman in my heart; for he observed me to be far from being zealous in the Mahometan way. And I must declare, that oftentimes I would go to mosque without ever taking *abdes* at all, which none of the thorough paced Mahometans would do, might they gain ever so much; for which I fared many ways, much worse than my fellow slaves, which had not turned; and did lie with them in a stable, and also eat with them. And indeed, our victuals were very coarse and ordinary, viz. mostly barley bread with sour milk. But if a sheep did chance to die, the

quaintance, and all! But my greatest sorrow is, that God hath deprived me of his holy Scriptures, of any good counsel or discourse; for I see nothing but wickedness before mine eyes.

“The Lord of heaven reward you for your endeavours to bring me up in the ways of Jesus Christ; for the bad improvement of which privilege, I now here find and suffer the want of it. I am in great fears, and great hazards do I run, in writing these few lines. About fourteen months I have been wanting from Algiers, for I have been with my patroon to Mecca, where is, they say, the house of God; and after they have been to pay their devotions thither, they do account that all their sins are forgiven.

“Mecca is about forty days travel beyond Grand Cairo; being now therefore in my way back again to Algiers, as far as Alexandria, I embrace this opportunity of sending to you from hence. With my kind love to all my brothers, relations, friends, and neighbours, desiring yours, and the prayers of all the people to God for me, I rest

“Your dutiful son, till death,

“ ——— ”

flesh would come for our share, and many joyful and hearty good meals should we make of it.

I remember there was a tame young hog in the village where we lived, once happened to fall foul of a milk-pan full of milk, for which it soon lost its life. My fellow slaves hearing it was dead, presently took and carried it into the field, where they made a fire, burnt off its hair, and then boiled it. When they had eat their allowance for supper, down came the second course, viz. the boiled hog, on which they fared sumptuously, desiring me to take part with them; I envied them their dainties, but durst not taste, lest it should have been discovered, and cost me my life: after they had enjoyed themselves on this noble dish, what remained was set by for another time. The next day, when they were all gone to their work in the vineyards, I had an opportunity to see how I liked it, and fed on it very heartily. In the evening they had their second course again, but finding that a good part of it was gone, they fell a taxing each other, for it was no small disappointment to them all; but none of them did in the least suspect me.

This my patroon was a married man, and being wanting about fourteen months from his wife, upon a stretch, in that interval she was delivered of bastard twins; so he turned her away, and in a little time married another, who was a great fortune to him.

Sometime after this I was *sold again* in Algiers, being according to custom, previous y carried three days by the crier about the streets. I was bought by an old bachelor. My work with him was to look after his house, dress his meat, wash the

clothes ; and in short, to do all those things that are looked on as a servant-maid's work in England.

I must own, I wanted nothing with him ; meat, drink, clothes, and money, I had enough. After I had lived with him about a year he made his pilgrimage to Mecca, and carried me with him ; but before we came to Alexandria he was taken sick, and thinking verily he should die, having a woven girdle about his middle, under his sash, which they usually wear, in which was much gold, and also my letter of freedom, which he intended to give me when at Mecca, he took it off, and bid me put it on about me, and took my girdle and put it on himself ; and withal told me, that if he died on the way, I should be sure to perform the *alhage*, or *el hagge*, i. e. the pilgrimage to Mecca, in order to obtain the honourable title of *hagge* ; not doubting, but that there would be sufficient care besides taken to bear my charges. He meant that the Algerine *haggas*, who were going with us to Mecca would have paid my expenses thither, and back again to Algiers, out of his cash. For you must observe, that when any Algerine Turks die without children, whether at home or abroad, their effects are carefully secured, and returned into the bank for the public use. This was argument enough how he loved me. But it pleased God that he recovered ; and one thing I observed in him was, that though he was before a great smoker of tobacco, after that sickness he never smoked at all, which was looked on as a token of his repentance ; for though abundance of tobacco be smoked among the Turks, yet it is accounted a sin.

A little before I went to Mecca, being newly

come to this my last patroon, we lived in a court, or *funduck*, as they term it, where lived none but batchelors, and every one had his slave to do the like service with him, as I did with my patroon: among these slaves there was one —, an Englishman, with whom I became very intimate, insomuch that I communicated my greatest secrets to him, and particularly how I came to turn Mahometan, and how uneasy I was upon it; and withal, that I had thoughts of going to the Dey, and telling him that I was forced to turn; and, that I hoped he would let me be at my choice, for I would be no Mahometan; and desired this man's opinion, whether I were best so to do. He answered, I should by no means do it, for it would make the worse for me, and endanger my life; he told me also, that it would not be long before my patroon would go to Mecca, and there, in all likelihood, give me my liberty; and after that, I might find some way or other to escape. Well, I hearkened to his advice, but afterwards had cause to repent of making him so much my confident; for when I returned from Mecca to Algiers, I found this — very much inclined to turn Mahometan. I was with my heart willing to discourage him from it, and to lay the horrid evil before him, but was afraid lest he should betray me. One day particularly, he came and asked my advice, whether he was best to turn or not. I thought him perfidious, and therefore told him, he should use his own mind, I would use no arguments with him *pro* or *con*; for, said I, if I should persuade you to turn, and your patroon should not be so kind to you as you expect, viz. to give you your liberty, then you would lay the blame on me. But in a

little time he did turn Turk, and that without the least temptation, his patroon no way desiring him so to do. I guessed him to be about thirty years of age when he turned.

About a year afterwards his patroon gave him his liberty, and he entered into pay. He became very diligent in learning to read the alcoran, and very forward to perform *sallah*, so that he was looked on as a zealot. He would often correct me for my backwardness to go to mosque, and for my intimacy with the neighbouring slaves; and I was afraid to oppose or contradict him in any thing.

But it pleased God, that in a little time this renegade died, and that in a very dismal manner; for he pined away after a strange rate, and before his death became a very miserable object indeed: and I cannot say that I was very sorry for his death.

I suppose he had some expectations of great matters, which made him turn; but he found himself disappointed. I am sure it was not from any such inducements that I became a Mahometan, but through my patroon's cruel and merciless usage; and yet I fared rather worse with him than before; though sometimes they shew themselves partial enough to those of the Mahometan religion with themselves; an instance of which I shall not easily forget, viz.

While I was in Algiers, there were two negro slaves belonging to a Tagaren, or Andalusian, one of which was a Mahometan, and the other a Portuguese, and a Christian. It seems that these two slaves, while they were at their work in their patroon's garden, having some old grudge, conspired to take away his life, and rob him of his money.

Accordingly on a certain day, understanding that their patroon was to go to Algiers with a considerable sum of money with him, and most of it in gold, they waylaid him, and murdered him.

This barbarous act was not presently discovered; but at length these negroes, forsooth, must go and enjoy themselves, and in order thereunto went to the money changers, to change some pieces of gold; by which means they were suspected and apprehended, and upon a strict examination into the matter, were found guilty, and both executed. He that was a Mussulman had a great deal more favour shewn him than the other, for he was fairly hanged; the manner of which, in Algiers, is thus, viz. they have an hole made in a wall, just up to the top, through which one end of the rope is put, and fastened on the other side of the wall, and the other about the criminal's neck, he sitting upon the wall; and after he hath spoken what he will, he is pushed off the top of the wall, and so is hanged.

But the poor Portuguese was stripped naked to the middle, and had his hands tied behind him, and *a hole made in the heel of each hand, into which were put wax candles burning; the same was done in both his shoulders;* and in this manner was he led along the streets with the crier of the town before him, publishing his crime. I thought they intended to have burned him alive, and therefore went without the gate to see him executed; but they cut off his head first, and then burned his body to ashes.

There was a Spaniard killed a Moor, and was therefore condemned to be burned; but to escape the fire, if not save his life, he turned Mahometan. But this would not save his life; however, it

gained him the favour, instead of being burned, to be pushed off the wall at the gate *bab el zoon*, which is the common place of execution.

My patroon would not open his mouth against me, unless when in a passion; but would speak, upon occasion, in my behalf, saying, *ben ebn, ouglanem eumra catch mes*, i. e. my son will never run away.

He seldom called me any thing but *son*, and bought a Dutch boy to do the work of the house, who attended upon me, and obeyed my orders as much as his. Many times, after dinner, when the boy asked him what he should dress for supper, he would bid him ask me. He desired me to mind my reading, in which I had made a considerable proficiency; and would have me also learn to write; and understanding something of writing, I could strike the the Turkish character beyond their expectation; and all in the school admired me for it. But I began to consider with myself, that I should soon be master of writing, as well as a pretty good accountant, and my patroon being related to the Dey, could easily get me promoted, as such usually are; and for this very reason I laid aside my writing, fearing what the consequence might be. I often saw several bags of his money, a great part of which he said he would leave me. He would say to me, "though I was never married myself, yet you shall in a little time, and then your children shall be mine." An offer was made me of that nature, but I bless God, it was no temptation to me. Had I been prevailed with to alter my condition there, I trembled to think what the issue might have been. Many more kindnesses, of this my last patroon, I

could relate ; for which I cannot but say, I had a great love for him, even as a father. But still this was not England, and I wanted to be at home.

Accordingly, after many difficulties, anxieties and dangers, which I shall not trouble the reader by narrating, I escaped to Smyrna, and thence sailed in a French vessel for Leghorn. A few days after I had been upon the Lazaret, i. e. the said island, that there came a French vessel from Algiers, in which were some redeemed slaves, amongst whom were some Dutchmen, and one of them was a nigh neighbour of mine in Algiers, who was mightily surprised but very glad to see me ; and said, that he, with the rest of his countrymen, would be glad of my company homeward, for that they had rather travel home by land than by sea. I was no less glad of their company, than they of mine ; and therefore after being permitted to go ashore, and tarrying in Leghorn one night, the next day we set out on our journey. It was about Christmas time, when there was very frosty weather, and great snows fell, so that we travelled twenty days in the snow. The first day we set out from Leghorn we came to Pisa ; from thence to Florence ; from thence to Bologna ; and so onward. We had a note of all cities and towns we were to pass through, as far as to Ausburgh. After I had travelled with my company about two hundred miles in Italy, and was just entering into Germany, my left leg failed me, so that I was not able to hold on with them ; whereupon they went away and left me, fearing their money would fall short, if they should stay for me.

Being thus left behind I was much troubled ; but it pleased God to mitigate my pains, and the next

day I followed them, but never could overtake them, they being always a day's journey before me.

When I had gone these two hundred miles with them, I was forced to travel five hundred more, (as they told me it was) on foot in Germany, till I came to Francfort. I fell into some troubles in travelling through Germany; and among them this was one, viz. one day I had travelled through a great wood, and as I came out of it, I met with four or five German soldiers, who bid me stand; I did; they examined me, and I gave them an account of myself; they made me go back with them, saying, I was a Frenchman, come as a spy into their country. I earnestly begged of them to let me go; they would not, but carried me back into the wood again, and brought me to a bye place, which made me very much afraid they would take away my life, and I have been since told by one of that country, that I had a very narrow escape, because the Germans seldom rob without committing murder. There they robbed me of my money, as much as they could find, then beat me, and bid me be gone: but as Divine Providence ordered it, they did not strip me; for if they had, they would have found more money about me.

When I came to Ausburgh, I thought the river Rhine had come up so far, but was mistaken; for I was informed, that I must travel still further on foot, viz. to Francfort upon the Maine, which was about an hundred and fifty miles more. It could not be helped, and therefore put to it I must. I got directions for as far as that place, and found it many a weary step; but the thoughts of getting home at last put new life and strength into me. When I got

to Francfort it was about sun-set, and the gates of the city were just ready to be shut; for they had then war with France. When I offered to go in, the centinel who were upon duty at the gate, demanded of me, who I was? I told them, an Englishman. They asked me, whence I came? I replied, from Leghorn; but they would not believe me. They bid me produce my passport, but I had none, because the above-mentioned company took it with them when I was left behind; and the want of it was the occasion of many troubles to me in my travels. Upon this they would not allow me entrance, but told me to go to such a particular way, and about a mile and a half off I should find a village, where I might lodge; for there was not so much as one house without the walls. I desired them to have some compassion upon me; and told them, that I knew not the way, that it was almost dark, and withal that I was weary and faint, having travelled a great way that day. But all the arguments I could make use of were to no purpose, and so the gate was shut. Upon meeting with such an unexpected repulse, I sat down on the ground and wept; for I had not a bit of bread to eat, nor any fire to warm myself in the extremely cold season which then was, though I had a little money which soon suppld all my wants; for looking about me, I at last spied a hut, or little house of boards, not far from the gate, where some soldiers kept guard; I made towards it, and the corporal seeing the condition I was in, took pity on me, and called me in, where they had a good fire. After I had warmed myself, he gave me some of his victuals, for which seasonable kindness I gave him money to fetch us

some good liquor. One of the soldiers very gladly went to the village whither I had been directed for a lodging, and brought some wine in a bucket: so that with their victuals, and their wine, I very well refreshed myself, and lying down on the boards slept comfortably. I thought there had been some English merchants in the city, and therefore desired the corporal to conduct me to one of them; but he could find none. At length he brought me to a French gentleman's house, who had a son who lived in England some time, and was lately returned home; by whom I was made very welcome. I very well remember, when I came first before him, he asked me, whether I was a Roman Catholic, or Protestant, I replied, a Protestant. No matter for that, he said, we are bound to do good to strangers. I lived, added he, three years in London, and found English people very civil to me. He then inquired what my particular business was with him? I told him, to procure a pass to go safe down the river, (for they are so strict there, in time of war, as to examine even their own countrymen) and, at the same time, desired him to change a pistole for me, and give me such money as would pass current at the places I was to call at on my way; for I had sometimes changed a piece of gold, and before all the exchange was expended in my travels, I could not put off some of the money without loss. He changed my pistole for me, and told me what money would pass in such and such place; and what I should reserve till last, to spend in Holland. He was, moreover, so exceedingly civil, as to go with me to the public office, where he stated my case, and easily got a pass for me, without any charge.

He then conducted me to the river side, where was a boat, almost full of passengers, ready to set out for Mentz. This obliging gentleman told the master of the boat, that he would satisfy him for my passage and desired an acquaintance of his in the boat to take care of me, and when we got to Mentz, to direct me to a certain merchant, for whom he gave me a letter, and therewith a piece of money to drink his health.

When we came to Mentz, every man was to produce his pas-port; and as they were looking over the person in the boat who was desired to take care of me, sent a boy to call the merchant, to whom I was to deliver the letter; who immediately came, and having perused it, invited me to his house.

This gentleman happened to be a slave in Algiers, at the same time I was; which made me the more welcome to him. He inquired of me about his patron, whom I knew very well; and many other things we talked of, relating to Algiers. I received much kindness from this gentleman; for he paid off my quarters for that night, gave me victuals and money for my passage from Mentz to Cologne, and moreover, sent by me a letter of recommendation to a correspondent of his there.

At Cologne I received the like kindness, having my passage paid for to Rotterdam; and if I would, might have had a recommendatory letter to some gentleman there too; but I refused it, being unwilling to be too troublesome to my friends.

I found great kindness at Rotterdam, where when it was known that there was one come from Algiers, several flocked about me; some inquiring for their husbands, and others for their children, to whom I

gave the best account I could. And at Helvoets-luys, whither our English packet-boats sail from Harwich, I had the same civility shewn me. But when I came into England, my own native country, I met with but coarse treatment; for the very first night I lay ashore I was impressed into the king's service, we having at that time war with France; and though I made known my condition, acquainting them how many years I had been in slavery; and used many arguments for my liberty, with tears, yet nothing would prevail, but away I must go, and I was accordingly carried to Colchester prison, where I lay some days. While I was there, I writ two letters, one to Sir William ———, who was one of the Smyrna, or Turkey Company in London, on whom I had a bill for a little money; the other was to my father in ———, to acquaint him with my escape from Turkey, and that I had been in England; if I should die on the voyage, or be lost at sea, must have been no small satisfaction to my relations, had it so happened. In a few days I was put on board a smack, which was appointed to carry the impressed men to the man of war. I had not been long here, before my name was called, there being a letter for me. I could not conceive from whence it should come, for I knew it was too soon to have an answer from ———, and I was very far from expecting any from London; nay, I blamed myself in my own thoughts, for writing as I did to a gentleman I was a perfect stranger to, imagining he would take no notice of me. But upon opening the letter, I found it to be from Sir William ———, who, upon the reception of mine, immediately went to the Admiralty Office, got a protection for me, and sent with all speed to me. This made me re-

joy exceedingly, and I could not forbear leaping upon the deck. The ship's crew were highly pleased with the news. I went to the lieutenant, and asked him, whether he had not a protection for me; he told me, yes, there it was; and I might go ashore whenever I pleased: this was not only my present discharge, but prevented all further trouble of that kind on the road homeward, which otherwise I must have met with.

When I came to ———, I thought it would not be prudent to make myself known to my father at once, lest it should quite overcome him; and therefore went to a public-house not far from where he lived, and inquired for some who were my playmates before I went to sea. They told me, there was one lived near there, with whom I had been very intimate while a lad; I sent for him, and acquainted him who I was, desiring he would go to my father, and bring it out to him by degrees: this he readily undertook, well knowing he should be a most welcome messenger, and in a little time brought my father to me. The house was soon filled with the neighbourhood, who came to see me. What joy there was at such a meeting, I leave the reader to conceive of, for it is not easily expressed. The first words my father said to me, were, Art thou my son Joseph? with tears. Yes, father, I am, said I. He immediately led me home, many people following us; but he shut the door against them, and would admit no one, till falling on his knees, he had returned hearty thanks to God for my signal deliverance. My mother died about a year before my return. I was in Algiers about fifteen years, and after I left it, it was near a twelve-month ere I could reach home.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Letter of Muley Zidan King of Morocco to King Charles I. of England.

WHEN these our letters shall be so happy as to come to your Majesty's sight, I wish the Spirit of the righteous God may so direct your mind, that you may joyfully embrace the message I send. The regal power allotted to us, makes us common servants to our Creator, then of those people whom we govern; so observing the duties we owe to God, we deliver blessings to the world in providing for the public good of our estates; we magnify the honour of God, like the celestial bodies, which, though they have much veneration, yet serve only to the benefit of the world. It is the excellency of our office to be instruments whereby happiness is delivered unto the nations. Pardon me, Sir! This is not to instruct, for I know I speak to one of a more clear and quick sight than myself; but I speak this, because God hath pleased to grant me a happy victory over some part of those rebellious pirates, that so long have molested the peaceable trade of Europe; and hath presented further occasion to root out the generation of those, who have been so pernicious to the good of our nations: I mean, since it hath pleased God to be so auspicious in our beginnings, in the conquest of Sallee, that we might join and proceed in hope of like success in the war of Tunis, Algiers, and other places; and re

ceptacles for the inhuman villainies of those who abhor rule and government. Herein while we interrupt the corruption of malignant spirits of the world, we shall glorify the great God, and perform a duty that will shine as glorious as the sun and moon, which all the earth may see and reverence; a work that shall ascend as sweet as the perfume of the most precious odours, in the nostrils of the Lord: a work whose memory shall be revered so long as there shall be any remaining among men: a work grateful and happy to men who love and honour the piety and virtue of noble minds. This action I here willingly present to you, whose piety and virtues equal the greatness of your power: that we, who are vicegerents to the great and mighty God, may hand in hand triumph in the glory which the action presents unto us.—Now, because the islands which you govern, have been ever famous for the unconquered strength of their shipping, I have sent this my trusty servant and ambassador, to know whether, in your princely wisdom, you shall think fit to assist me with such forces by sea, as shall be answerable to those I provide by land; which if you please to grant, I doubt not but the Lord of Hosts will protect and assist those that fight in so glorious a cause. Nor ought you to think this strange, that I, who so much revered the peace and accord of nations, should exhort to war. Your great prophet, Christ Jesus, was the lion of the tribe of Judah, as well as the Lord and giver of peace; which may signify unto you, that he who is a lover and maintainer of peace, must always appear with the terror of his sword, and, wading through seas of blood, must arrive at tranquillity. This made James your father, of glorious memory, so happily renowned among nations.—It was the noble fame of your princely virtues, which resounds to the utmost corners of the earth, that persuaded me to invite you to partake of that blessing, wherein I boast myself most happy. I wish God may heap the riches of his blessings on you, increase your happiness with your days, and hereafter perpetuate the greatness of your name in all ages.

No. II.

ARTICLES of Peace and Commerce between the Most High and Most Renowned Prince George, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. and the High and Glorious, Mighty and Right Noble Prince, Albumazer Muley Ishmael, Ben Muley Zeriph, Ben Muley Ally-King and Emperor of the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, Taf-ilet ; Suz, and all the Algarbe and its territories in Africa, &c. concluded agreed and adjusted by the Honourable Charles Stewart, Esquire, on the Behalf of His Britaunic Majesty, and by His Excellency Basha Hamet Ben Ally Ben Abdallah, and His Imperial Majesty's Treasurer, Mr. Moses Ben Hattar, a Jew, on the Behalf of the said King of Fez and Morocco.

I. IT is agreed and concluded, That from this day forward there shall be, between His Majesty of Great Britain and the King of Fez and Morocco, their heirs and successors, a general, sincere, and true peace, which shall be observed inviolably, and endure for ever, as well by land as by sea and fresh waters, and also between the lands, countries, kingdoms, dominions, and territories belonging unto or under the obedience of either of them, and that their subjects, people, or inhabitants respectively, of what condition, degree, or quality soever, from henceforth reciprocally shall shew one another all friendship ; and that at the death of either of Their Majesties ; the successor shall send an ambassador to the other to signify to him his accession to the crown.

II. It is further accorded, That any of the ships or other vessels belonging to the said King of Great Britain, or to any of His Majesty's subjects, may safely come to the ports, or to any place of the said Emperor's dominions, there freely to buy or sell ; and the goods they sell not, they shall at any time freely carry on board, without paying any duties for the same, if they are not contraband goods ; and in case any ship or vessel shall have more goods on board than is designed for the port, (which the master shall be obliged to declare on his arrival) the master of the said ship shall not be compelled to land the said goods, but they shall freely depart from thence whensoever they please without any stop or hindrance

whatsoever ; and it is hereby declared, that the ships or vessels of their respective Majesties, or their subjects, that shall arrive in any of the ports or harbours of the dominions of either of the Kings aforesaid, compelled by enemies, disaster of the seas, or any accident, shall be exempted from paying anchorage, giving powder, money, or any thing else, as port charge, or any other duties either upon their entrance or departure from the said ports, without any let or molestation.

III. It is agreed, That all ships and vessels whatsoever belonging to the subjects of the said King of Great Britain, as also all ships and vessels whatsoever belonging to the King of Fez and Morocco, or to his subjects, shall freely navigate and pass the seas without any search, hindrance, or molestation from each other ; and that all persons or passengers of what country or nation soever, as also all monies, goods, merchandises or moveables to what people or nation soever belonging, to either party, shall be wholly free, and shall not be stopped, taken away, embezzled, or plundered, nor receive any harm or damage whatsoever from either party. And it is further agreed, that no commander or other person belonging to any ship or vessel of the King of Morocco, or his subjects, shall take out of any ship or vessel of the King of Great Britain's subjects, any person or persons whatsoever, to carry them any where to be examined, or upon any other pretence whatsoever, and shall offer no violence whatsoever to any person or persons, of what quality or nation soever, being on board any ship or vessel belonging to His Majesty's subjects.

IV. It is agreed, for the better observing and executing the antecedent articles according to the true intent and meaning thereof, That the men of war or ships of Corso belonging to the King of Fez and Morocco, or to any of his subjects, meeting with any ships or vessels whatsoever belonging to the King of Great Britain's subjects (not being in any of the seas appertaining to His said Majesty of Great Britain's dominions) may send on board one single boat with two sitters, and no more, which sitters only shall have the liberty to enter into such ships or vessels aforesaid ; and that by producing a pass signed by the said King of Great Britain, or by the Lord High Admiral of England, Scotland, or Ireland, the said boat shall immediately depart, and such ship or vessel shall freely proceed on her voyage ; and when any of the the ships of war or corso of the King of Great Britain, or

his subjects, shall meet with any ship or vessel of the King of Fez and Morocco, or his subjects, if the commander of any such ships or vessels shall produce a pass signed by the governor of the place to which they belong, with a certificate from the English consul, and in case of his decease, or absence, from the major part of the English merchants residing in the said place, in such cases the said ship or vessel shall proceed freely on her voyage without impediment or molestation.

V. It is agreed, That if any of the ships of war of the said King of Great Britain shall come to any port or place of the dominions of the King of Fez and Morocco, with any prize or prize goods, they may freely sell and dispose of them without any molestation, or new imposition whatsoever; and in case any squadron of His Majesty of Great Britain's ships of war, or any single ship, or merchant ship or vessel, shall want provisions or refreshment, it is hereby further agreed, That they may freely buy the same in such quantities or qualities as they shall have occasion for, at the market prices, and ship off the same without paying any duties or acknowledgement whatsoever.

VI. It is agreed, That if any ship or vessel belonging to the King of Great Britain, or his subjects, should by stress of weather or any other accident, be driven on shore, bulged or wrecked, in any part of the King of Fez and Morocco's dominions, such ships or vessels, persons or goods, shall, without embezzlement or diminution, be duly restored to the consul, or to any other person whom the right owner shall appoint, and the men shall be at full liberty, and be permitted to go when they please, without any let whatsoever.

VII. It is agreed, That in all whatsoever towns and places, maritime or others, belonging to the King of Fez and Morocco, where-soever the said King of Great Britain shall think fit to appoint and establish a consul, that such consul or consuls shall be treated with the respect due to his or their characters; and he and all other His Majesty of Great Britain's subjects respectively, shall enjoy the free liberty of the exercise of their religion, without any molestation or reproach, in word or deed, and that they shall have a decent place appointed for the burial of their dead, to which no violence shall be offered. That the said consul and factors shall have the choice of their own truckman and broker, and liberty to go and travel from place to place, by sea or land. They shall likewise have liberty to go on board any ship or vessel whatsoever, to trade, or

likewise in port or road, without any let, confinement, or limitation. Their effects and estates shall be secure to them without danger of confiscation, seizure, or embargo, on any pretence whatsoever; and that the said consul or consuls, and all whatsoever subjects of His Majesty of Great Britain, trading in the territories of the King of Fez and Morocco, shall have free liberty to depart the country at all times, and as often as they shall see cause, without any impediment or detention to them, their persons, or estates. And it is further agreed, That if any of the King of Great Britain's subjects, residing or trafficking in any part of the dominions of the King of Fez and Morocco, shall happen to die, in such case the governor of the place where such person shall so decease, shall be obliged to see all his monies and effects forthwith delivered into the hands of His Majesty of Great Britain's consul there; and in case there be no consul upon the place, then to some English merchant, who is to secure them for the use of the heirs of the deceased; and this is to be understood, in case the person deceased has not had a partner left or factor surviving, or has not before his death recommended his said goods, debts, &c. to any Christian merchant of what nation soever, in which case the governor is not to intermeddle, further than interposing his authority for the causing due compliance to be made of the said person deceased, his will, and the recovery of what shall be owing him, or any otherwise in the hands of any person whatsoever. And it is hereby further declared, that none of the King of Great Britain's subjects shall, on any pretence whatsoever, be compelled, or give any manner of satisfaction, for any other debts than such as they themselves, each of them respectively, shall contract, or be obliged to by their own act; and that the subjects of the Emperor of Fez and Morocco, whether Moors or Jews, residing in the dominions of the King of Great Britain, shall entirely enjoy the same privileges that are granted to the English residing in Barbary.

VIII. It is agreed, That no alcajde, governor, officer, or subject of the King of Fez and Morocco, shall take possession violently of any goods or merchandizes of any of the King of Great Britain's subjects, in the said King of Fez and Morocco's dominions, without first adjusting and agreeing upon the price, and paying down the money; or as it shall be agreed between them, without any compulsion whatsoever; and the said subjects of the King of Great Britain shall not be forced to buy any goods or merchandizes.

against their will. And it is further agreed, That the commander or master of any English ship or vessel, shall not be obliged or compelled to trade, or take on board any goods or merchandize whatsoever, he or they declaring to the consul residing in the place or otherwise, their unwillingness to undertake the same. And further, No ship shall be detained or embargoed on any pretence whatsoever; or any pilot or mariners taken out of any ship or vessel on any pretence whatsoever.

IX It is agreed, That if any of the subjects of the King of Great Britain shall happen to strike, wound, or kill any Moor, in any place within the dominions of the King of Fez and Morocco, and the said offender shall be taken, he shall be punished in the same manner, and with no greater severity than the subjects of the said King of Fez and Morocco, being guilty of the same offence, ought to be by the laws of that country. But if the offender shall make his escape, then neither the consul, nor any other person of the nation, shall be accountable or liable to give any satisfaction thereupon; and the like to be practised, if any Moor should happen to strike, wound, or kill any of His Majesty of Great Britain's subjects. And further, If any difference shall happen between persons, both of the King of Great Britain's subjects, such difference shall be accommodated by the consul of the English nation; but in all controversies between the English and persons of any other nation, such controversies shall be determined by the alcaide or governor in chief of the place. And that the same liberty shall be granted to the subjects of the Emperor of Morocco, residing in the dominions of His Brittanic Majesty, which is given to the English consul in Barbary, to name a person or persons to decide the differences that may happen between the subjects of His Imperial Majesty, a Moor for the Moors, and a Jew for the Jews.

X. It is agreed, that not only during this peace and friendship but likewise if any breach or war happen to be hereafter, between the said King of Fez and Morocco, the English consul, and all others the said King of Great Britain's subjects, inhabiting or trafficking in the dominions of the said King of Fez and Morocco, shall always and at all times, both in peace and war, have full power and entire liberty to depart and go to their own or any other country, upon what ship or vessel of what nation soever they shall think fit; to be allowed six months time to remove in case of war, and to carry with them all their effects, goods, families, children though born in the

country, and servants, without any interruption, seizure, or hindrance whatsoever.

XI. And to the end this treaty of peace may not be thought violated by the crimes and offences of particular men, it is hereby further agreed, That if either of their majesties subjects shall do any thing contrary to what is agreed in the foregoing articles, it shall not be reckoned a breach of the public peace; nor shall any hostility ensue thereupon; neither shall it in any case, of any controversy, be reputed a denial of justice. but where satisfaction shall be refused for the space of six months after complaint made.

XII. It is agreed, That the subjects of the King of Fez and Morocco shall be suffered to transport out of the dominions of the King of Great Britain, any sort of goods whatsoever, to the dominions of the said King of Fez and Morocco; and that they shall be obliged to pay no more duties or any other imposition whatsoever, than what other nations do; according to the custom of the country.

XIII. And as it has pleased Almighty God, that by his Majesty's arms, the island of Minorca, and the city of Gibraltar, are now in His Majesty's possession, and are become part of His Britannic Majesty's dominions; it is therefore agreed, that every person sailing in ships or vessels, whether Spaniard, English, or otherwise, fishing in boats or vessels, living or residing there, shall be esteemed as his natural-born subjects, upon producing proper passes from the governors, or commanders in chief of those places.

XIV. It is agreed, That for the better preservation of this peace entirely, and inviolably, between the said King of Fez and Morocco, and the said King of Great Britain, and their kingdoms, dominions, subjects, and vassals respectively, proclamation shall be immediately made thereof, in all the sea-ports and towns of both their Majesties, and fixed upon the gates of each of the said towns. And likewise that notice be given thereof to the respective governors, ministers, officers, and captains, by sea and land, to the end that due regard be had to this peace, and that none may offend through ignorance; and this shall be done after the ratifications be exchanged, as it is expressed in the following article.

Lastly, It is agreed, in case any ship or ships of war in enmity with the King of Great Britain, be in any of the ports of the King of Fez and Morocco, at the same time that any of the ships belonging to the King of Great Britain's subjects are there, that such

privateers shall not be permitted to offer any violence to the English ships, nor to sail after them in forty hours. And be it further agreed, That the peace shall commence from the day of the signing this treaty; after which none of the subjects of His Majesty of Great Britain shall be bought, sold, or made slaves, in any part of the dominions of the King of Fez and Morocco, on any pretence whatsoever. And the ratification hereof shall be exchanged within the space of six months, or sooner if possible; and if it so happen that in the mean time any capture should be made on either party to his damage or harm, reparation shall be made thereof by the captor, according to the rate at which the ships or goods, or both, shall appear to have been sold; and whatsoever part thereof shall remain undisposed of, shall immediately be restored in specie, and the men set at liberty. That the peace shall be confirmed and ratified in Spanish; and shall be received and be of equal force, as if it was in the language of either nation.

No. III,

ARTICLES of Peace and Commerce between His Most Sacred Majesty King George, &c. and the most excellent lords Hali basha, Hassan Ben Hali Bey, Cara Mustapha Dey, the Aga, and the Douwan of the noble city of Tunis, and the whole body of militia of the said kingdom renewed and concluded in the year of Christ 1716, by John Baker, Esq. vice-admiral, &c.

I. That all former grievances, losses, and other pretensions between both parties, shall be void, and of no effect, and from henceforward a firm peace for ever, free trade and commerce, shall be and continue between the subjects of His Most Sacred Majesty George, King of Great Britain, &c. and the people of the kingdom of Tunis, and dominions thereunto belonging; but that this article shall not cancel or make void any just debt, either in commerce or otherwise, that may be due from one person or person's to others of either party, but that the same shall be liable to be demanded, and be recoverable as before.

II. That the ships of either party shall have free liberty to enter

into any port or river belonging to the dominions of either party, paying the duties only for what they shall sell, transporting the rest without any trouble or molestation, and freely enjoy any other accustomed privileges ; and the late exaction which hath been upon the lading and unlading of goods at Goletta, and the marine, shall be reduced to the ancient custom in those cases.

III. That there shall be no seizure of any ship of either party at sea, or in port ; but that they shall quietly pass, without any molestation or interruption, they displaying their colours ; and for the prevention of all inconveniences that may happen, the ships of Tunis are to have a certificate, under the hand and seal of the British consul, that they belong to Tunis ; which being produced, the English ship shall admit two men to come on board them peaceably, and satisfy themselves that they are English ; and although they have passengers of other nations on board, they shall be free, both they and their effects.

IV. That if an English ship shall receive on board any goods or passengers belonging to the Kingdom of Tunis, they shall be bound to defend them and their goods, so far as lies in their power, and not deliver them unto their enemies ; and the better to prevent any unjust demand being made upon the crown of Great Britain, and to avoid disputes and differences which may arise, all goods and merchandizes, that shall from henceforward be shipped by the subjects of this government, either in this port, or any other whatsoever, on board the ships or vessels belonging to Great Britain, shall be first entered in the office of Cancellaria, before the British consul residing at the respective court, expressing the quantity, quality, and value of the goods so shipped, which the said consul is to certify in the clearance which is given to the said ship or vessel, before she departs ; to the end that, if any cause of complaint should happen hereafter, there may be no greater claim made on the British nation than by this method shall be proved to be just and equitable.

V. That if any ships of either party shall, by accident of foul weather or otherwise, be cast away upon any coasts belonging to the other party, the persons shall be free, and the goods saved and delivered to their lawful proprietors.

VI. That the English which do at present, or shall hereafter inhabit in the city or kingdom of Tunis, shall have free liberty, when

they please, to transport themselves with their families and children, though born in the country.

VII. That the people belonging to the dominions of either party shall not be abused with ill language, or otherwise ill treated, but that the parties so offending shall be punished according to their desert.

VIII. That the consul, or any other of the English nation residing at Tunis, shall not be forced to make their addresses, in any difference, to any court of justice, but to the dey himself, from whom only they shall receive judgment: this is in case any dispute should arise between a subject of Great Britain and one of this government, or of any other foreign nation: but if it should be between any two of his majesty's subjects, then it shall be decided by the British consul only.

IX. That the consul, or any other of the English nation, shall not be liable to pay the debts of any particular person of that nation, unless obliged thereunto under his hand.

X. That as the island of Minorca in the Mediterranean sea, and the city of Gibraltar in Spain, have been yielded and annexed to the crown of Great Britain, as well by the King of Spain as by all the several powers in Europe, engaged in the late war, it is hereby agreed and fully concluded, that from this time forward, for ever, the said island of Minorca and city of Gibraltar shall be esteemed, in every respect, by the government of Tunis, to be part of His Majesty's own dominions; and the inhabitants thereof shall be looked upon as His Majesty's natural subjects, in the same manner as if they had been born in any part of Great Britain; and they, with their ships and vessels wearing the British colours, shall be permitted freely to trade and traffick in any part of the kingdom of Tunis, and shall pass without any molestation whatsoever, either on the seas or elsewhere, in the same manner, and with the same freedom and privileges, as have been stipulated in this and all former treaties in behalf of the British nation and subjects.

XI. And the better and more firmly to maintain the good correspondence and friendship that have been so long and so happily established between the crown of Great Britain and the government of Tunis, it is hereby agreed and concluded, by the parties above mentioned, that none of the ships or vessels belonging to Tunis, or the dominions thereof, shall be permitted to cruize, or look for prizes of any nation whatsoever, before or in sight of the aforesaid

city of Gibraltar, or any ports of the island of Minorca, to hinder or molest any vessels bringing provisions and refreshments for his Britannic Majesty's subjects, troops, and garrisons in those places, or give any disturbance to the trade and commerce thereof; and if any prizes shall be taken by the ships or vessels of Tunis, within the space of ten miles of the places aforesaid, it shall be restored without any dispute.

XII. That all the ships of war belonging to either party's dominions shall have free liberty to use each other's ports for washing, cleaning, and repairing any of their defects, and to buy and ship off any sorts of victuals, alive or dead, or any other necessities, at the price the natives buy it in the market, without paying custom to any officer. And whereas His Britannic Majesty's ships of war do frequently assemble and harbour in the port of Mahon, in the island of Minorca, if at any time they, or any of His Majesty's troops in garrison there, should be in want of provisions, and should send from thence to purchase supplies in any part of the dominions belonging to Tunis, they shall be permitted to buy cattle, alive or dead, and all other kind of provision, at the price they are sold at in the market, and shall be suffered to carry them off without paying duty to any officer, in the same manner as if His Majesty's ships themselves were in the port.

XIII. That in case any ships of war belonging to the kingdom of Tunis shall take, in any of their enemies ships, any Englishman serving for wages, they are to be made slaves; but if merchants or passengers, they are to enjoy their liberty and effects unmolested.

XIV. That in case any slave in the kingdom of Tunis of any nation whatsoever, shall make his escape, and get on board any ship belonging to the dominions of Great Britain, the consul shall not be liable to pay the ransom, unless timely notice be given him, to order that none such be entertained; and then, if it appears that any slave has so got away, the said consul shall pay to his patroon the price for which he was sold in the market; and if no price be set, then to pay three hundred dollars, and no more.

XV. And the better to prevent any dispute that may arise hereafter between the two parties about the salutes and public ceremonies, it is hereby agreed and concluded, that whenever any flag officer of Great Britain shall arrive in the bay of Tunis, in any of His Majesty's ships of war, immediately upon notice given of it, there shall be

twenty-five cannon fired from the castle of Goletta, or any other the nearest fortification belonging to Tunis, according to custom, and as a royal salute to His Britannic Majesty's colours; and the same number shall be returned in answer thereto by His Majesty's ships: and it is hereby stipulated and agreed, that all ceremonies of honour shall be allowed to the British consul who resides here, to represent in every respect His Majesty's person, equal to any other nation whatsoever; and that no other consul in the kingdom shall be admitted before him in precedency.

XVI. That the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, either residing in or trading to the Tunisian dominions, shall not, for the time to come, pay any more than three per cent. custom on the value of goods or merchandizes, which they shall bring into or carry out of the kingdom of Tunis.

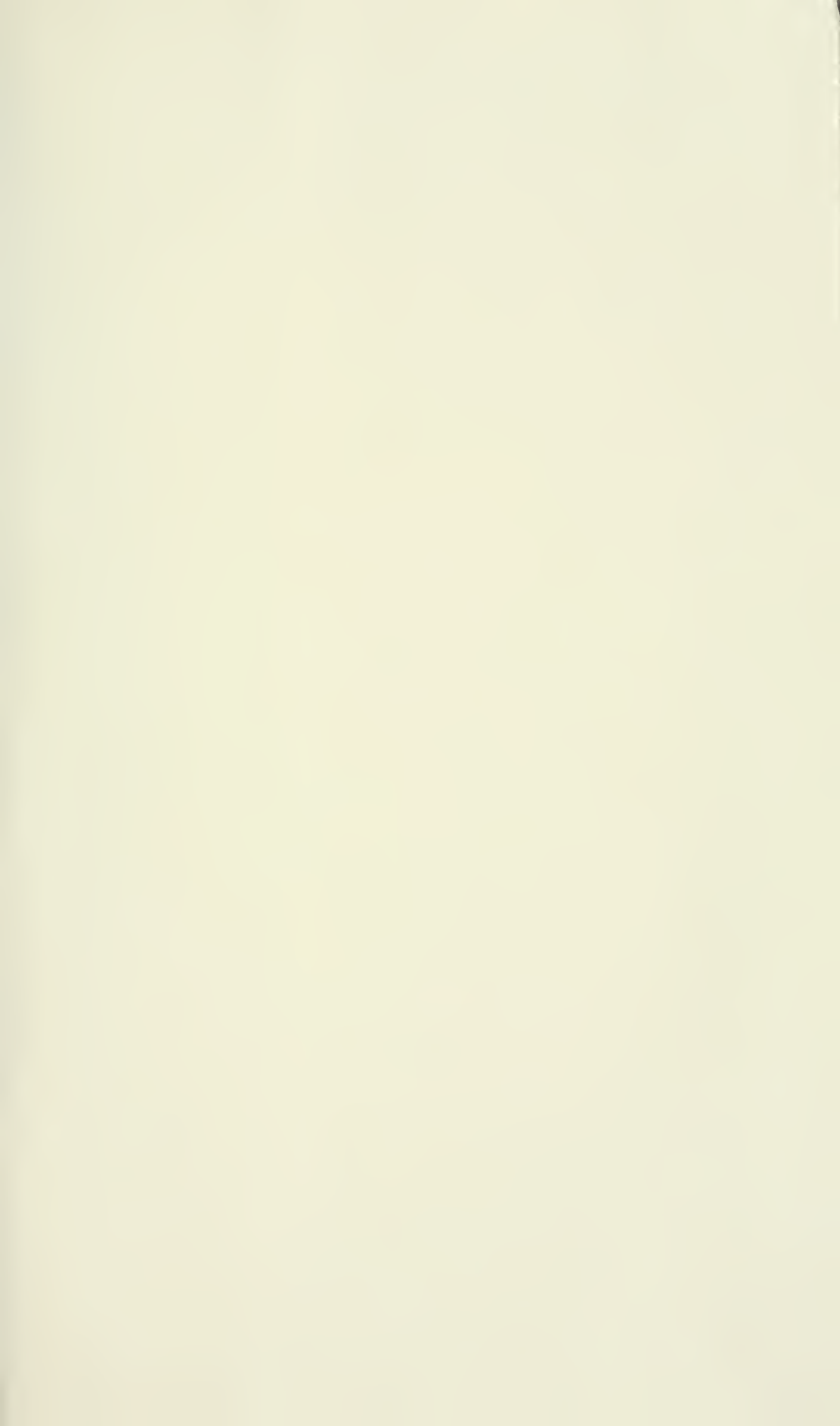
XVII. It is moreover agreed, concluded, and established, that at whatsoever time the said government of Tunis shall please to reduce the customs of the French nation to less than they pay at present, it shall be always observed, that the British customs shall be two per cent. less than any agreement that shall be hereafter made with the said French or than shall be paid by the said subjects of France.

XVIII. It is moreover agreed, concluded, and established, that in case any British ship or ships, or any of the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, shall import at the port of Tunis, or any part of this kingdom, any warlike stores, as cannons, muskets, pistols, cannon-powder, or fine powder, bullets, masts, anchors, cables, pitch, tar, or the like; they shall not pay any duty or custom whatsoever for any such kinds of merchandize.

Read, approved, and ratified, by the parties above mentioned, and signed and sealed by them in the said city of Tunis, on the 30th day of August, O. S. A. D. 1716.

THE END.

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